

# THE ANALECTIC MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1819.

DR. DORSEY.

It has been to us a subject of sincere regret that this Journal has not earlier contained a tribute, of some sort, to the memory of the lamented Dr. Dorsey.

Knowing full well and intimately his extraordinary worth—participating in the universal admiration of his talents—cherishing dearly the fond recollection of his valued friendship—and deeply lamenting, both as a public and private calamity, his untimely loss—we have been anxious to join the general voice of eulogy that echoed round his tomb. But the apprehension of giving an inadequate expression to our own sentiments, or an unworthy tribute to his character, kept us silent so long, that the delay seemed to be a reproach, and began to wear the appearance of disinclination. Still, however, knowing that Dr. Chapman, at the request of the Medical class, had consented to pronounce a public eulogium, we thought it advisable to wait still longer, until we should be able to present that eulogium to our readers, which the kindness of Dr. Chapman now enables us to do.

Commendation proceeding from a rival in fame, is the purest and the noblest of all praise; the most sincere, and, generally, the most discriminating; and honours 'him that gives and him that doth receive.' A compeer in the same medical school,—a competitor for emolument and reputation, in the same honourable profession,—and, for the few last years of Dorsey's life, a co-labourer in the dissemination of medical science from the same institution,—a member also of the same social circle, and bound to him by the ties of a long subsisting familiarity and friendship—Dr. Chapman possessed every opportunity to acquire an accurate estimate of his character. He has therefore with his accustomed elegance of diction, been able to portray the virtues, the talents, and the accomplishments that adorned his departed friend, with a fidelity and truth of colouring, to which hundreds will bear witness, who, like the eulogist, knew Dorsey, and by an inevitable consequence loved him. For such

were his happy powers of conciliation and so much did the evident indications of benevolence, in all his actions, awaken a corresponding sentiment in the hearts of all who knew him—that, however opinions might vary as to the comparative estimate of his talents, or scientific attainments,—of all who were either relieved by his professional skill, or soothed by the gentleness and assiduity of his professional attentions, who approached him as their public, or loved him as their private instructor, who knew him amid the courtesies of social intercourse, or within the narrower and more sacred circle of family and friends—none can yet recall his image, nor recollect their intercourse with him, without emotions of sorrowful and affectionate remembrance.

His was not a character to be truly appreciated by rules which require a standard of cold correctness. An enumeration of the honours he won, the plaudits he received, the triumphs of his genius, the proofs of his erudition, gives, after all, but a very imperfect picture; for though his power over the minds of men was ascribable to his abilities and cultivation, the more wonderful influence he possessed over their hearts, is not so easily accounted for, nor to be described without danger of falling into that strain of seemingly extravagant panegyric, which brings posthumous eulogy into discredit, and turns cautious belief into contemptuous incredulity.

Gifted with exquisite relish for all that adorns and blesses human existence,—with a heart naturally, habitually, and to the last, filled with Christian piety, which brightens prosperity no less than it soothes adversity; and glowing with all the generous sympathies of our nature, to the exclusion of every malign or selfish feeling,—with a perception of the beauties and harmonies of nature, so keen as to bring excellence in the sister arts of painting, poetry, and music, completely within his power,—and with a taste for the refinements of social intercourse, that made them a source to him of the highest pleasure—with a healthful constitution and a prepossessing exterior, he yet resisted the temptation of an inactive possession of those pleasures which he was thus formed to enjoy; and advanced by a steady and intense exercise of extraordinary abilities, to the first rank in his profession, and to a degree of usefulness and renown, scarce ever attained in a career so early closed. But whilst his surgical skill was unrivalled here, except by that of his distinguished relative; while his lectures were universally admired, his superior talents and great acquirements universally admitted, and his fortune rapidly increasing—amid this premature age of honours and success, he retained in all their native freshness, the unassuming modesty, the gayety, generosity, sincerity, and ardour of youth.

He lived to reach what seems to be the summit of earthly felicity; preeminently blessed in domestic life,—surrounded by a circle of attached and chosen friends, whose numbers he could augment at will—possessed of a widely spread and increasing reputa-



tion;—engaged in a most honourable, useful, and lucrative occupation,—with improving faculties ‘progressive virtue and approving heaven,’—though still young, he had nothing left to wish for. But it was the will of God to take him from us, and the stroke of death, though cruel to the survivors, was but to him the messenger of mercy, that came to make his HAPPINESS ETERNAL.

ART. I.—*An Eulogium on the late John Syng Dorsey, M. D. Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania, delivered by appointment, before the Medical Class, as a Valedictory Lecture, on the 1st March, 1819. By N. Chapman, M. D. Professor, &c.*

GENTLEMEN,

AS previously intimated, the present session is brought to a close. Considering the series of casualties and disadvantages with which we have had to contend, the several courses of lectures have been conducted with much regularity, and, on the whole, we cannot help believing, that all your reasonable expectations are realized.

It were useless to conceal, that the school has been greatly shattered by a succession of unexampled misfortunes, and its lustre, consequently, in a degree, tarnished and obscured. But though crippled in its organization, and shorn of some of its brightest beams, it is still left with many resources, and its defects may be repaired. By pursuing a liberal and enlightened policy, we cannot fail to make it worthy of its ancient renown, and commensurate with the great and momentous objects for which it is designed.

As we read in fabulous history of a production of greater worth emerging from the ashes of its predecessor, so in reality, by proper management, a school may be made to arise out of the present one, on a broader foundation, and with augmented splendour and utility.

The period has now arrived, when the interesting relations which have so long subsisted between us are to cease, and in a few minutes we separate, some of us, to meet no more. May I be permitted to declare, without incurring the imputation of hypocrisy or deceit, that the only time which I have ever met you with regret, is the present, when I am to bid you a final adieu.

Is it not natural that we should all experience some degree of distress on this occasion? The idea of the last is a painful one. It has often been remarked, that we cannot part even from inanimate objects, endeared to us by certain associations, without sorrow, and every heart of sensibility will confess the force and extent of this truly amiable sentiment.

As the ship recedes from the shore, and the landscape fades away, never more to be seen, nature, true to herself, heaves the involuntary sigh, and there is blended with the prospect of brighter fortunes, some heavy regrets and mournful emotions. But if moved by impulses of this kind, how much more must we feel, in taking

this last leave of you, who are connected to us by many of the ties which most strongly bind the human affections.

In the completion of your studies, you have reached the first critical period of existence. The season of youth is halcyon, and its prospects, like the serene sky of a summer's eve, are gilded with solar beams. But soon you are to exchange the calm occupations of studious industry, and the state of tranquil happiness, for a situation which must unavoidably prove more or less dark, procellous, or disturbed.

The course which you are hereafter to pursue, is not the primrose path of pleasure. Called to the exercise of an arduous profession, most of you are henceforward to maintain a station in society, to encounter its cares and its turmoils, to share in its disappointments and mortifications, and to experience the checkered fortune which results from the eternal vicissitudes of 'many coloured life.'

In entering on a career, so environed by difficulties, and exposed to dangers, some precepts may be necessary, and some cautions useful. Could I do it, how eagerly would I become your counselor and guide! But I have another duty to perform. We have met on a melancholy occasion. Death, always terrible in his visitations, has most awfully afflicted us.

Commencing with the very founder of our institution, he has swept off, in rapid succession, nearly all of the distinguished men who illustrated its character and maintained its ascendancy.

In the short space of eight years, I have lost the whole of my preceptors in medicine,\* and now, by an appointment, too partially conferred, I am called to pronounce the eulogy of one of the most beloved of my colleagues. These sad events have converted the temple of science into an house of mourning, and everywhere within it are heard the tones of lamentation and sorrow.

To me, this last dispensation has been peculiarly severe. As my friend and companion, mingling largely in my social recreations, and, more than any other, participating in my employments, the bereavement is irreparable. Even amidst the active and crowded scenes which have since engaged me, I have very often cast my eyes around, and found that I was solitary and alone.

Nor, perhaps, on any preceding occasion, was the publick sensibility more strongly expressed. As soon as the unwelcome tidings transpired, the whole city was overcast with the gloom of a heavy calamity. The ordinary amusements, for a time, became suspended, general gayety was eclipsed, and every countenance wore the aspect of grief and dismay.

To behold so much youth, and vigour, and usefulness, thus suddenly extinguished, was indeed a solemn admonition of the uncertainty of human existence, and the perishable tendencies of all our hopes and possessions.

\* Shippen, Woodhouse, Rush, Barton, and Wistar.



Death is very differently contemplated. An aged individual, however revered for his virtues, or valued for his services, sinking into the grave, is considered, for the most part, as a mere compliance with an inexorable law of nature, and the ultimate completion of an inevitable destiny. But, when one is cut down in the season of bloom and promise, we feel the intensity of the blow in the disappointment of our anticipations of future excellence, and, can only be reconciled to it by the reflection, that though unintelligible to our limited perceptions, it is the work of divine wisdom, against which we must not murmur or complain.

By your conduct, in this instance, you evince the warmth of your sensibility, and have conciliated much cordiality of esteem. The spectacle which you now present, is exceedingly interesting and impressive. Like that people of antiquity, of whom the practice is recorded, of each one depositing some portion of the materials out of which to erect the tumulus over the remains of a favourite chieftain, with the same sense of affectionate attachment, you have convened, to render the tribute of respect to the memory of your benefactor and friend. To those to whom he was most dear, no species of homage can be more acceptable, and may we not indulge the hope, that even his immortal spirit is not indifferent to the proceedings of this day?

That the lives of literary and philosophical men are comparatively destitute of interest, has been commonly observed. Devoted more to meditation than enterprise, it is obvious that they must supply fewer incidents to excite curiosity, or command attention.

To a certain extent, the same remark is applicable to the members of the medical profession. But, though in this respect, we may not compete with those who lead the arms of their country to victory, or control the decisions of her councils by their eloquence or wisdom, surely he has some honest claims to notice, who so sedulously endeavoured to minister to the miseries of his species, and extend the limits of science, to spread the blessings of benevolence, and uphold the empire of truth and knowledge.

Entertaining this conviction, I shall proceed to trace the prominent circumstances of his short career, and perhaps, it may not be un-instructive to you to learn, what were the means by which a man, at an age when most of us begin only to attract observation, had already risen to great eminence, and if spared, would inevitably have reached the utmost heights of distinction.

Born in the city of Philadelphia, on the twenty-third of December, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, John Syng Dorsey was descended from ancestors, some of whom, especially on the maternal side, were advantageously known by their philosophical acquisitions, and general attachment to liberal pursuits.

Of the early part of his life, I have been able to collect very little worthy of record. It appears that he received an excellent elementary and classical education at a school in this city, of the society of Friends, then in high repute, and here manifested the

same vivacity of genius, and quickness in learning, with the mild and gracious dispositions for which he was subsequently so conspicuous.

At the age of fifteen years he entered the office of his relative, the present professor of surgery, and at this time our acquaintance commenced, which soon ripened into the closest intimacy, that continued without interruption or abatement, amidst the collision of interests, and opposition of views, so fatal to professional friendships.

Medicine, he cultivated with unusual ardour, and so successfully, that though by far the most juvenile member of the class, he had no superior, in the estimation either of his teachers, or fellow students. Of the force of his application and its results, a conception may be formed, when it is told, that while still very much within his minority, he was fully prepared for the highest medical honour of this university. In the spring of eighteen hundred and two, then in his nineteenth year, he graduated as a doctor in physic, having previously defended with ability, an inaugural dissertation 'on the powers of the gastric liquor, as a solvent of urinary calculi.'

Criticism has rarely been exercised on publications of this nature. It may however be permitted me merely to remark, that the one to which I have alluded, exhibits some original views, illustrated and maintained by a set of pertinent and well conducted experiments.

Not long after receiving his Degree, the yellow fever reappeared in this city, and prevailed so widely, that an hospital was opened, for the accommodation, exclusively, of the sick with this disease, to which he was appointed resident physician. Of the manner in which he discharged the duties of this office of 'hazardous benevolence,' it is difficult to speak too highly, so great was the value attached to his services.

Nor did he neglect the vast opportunities which his situation afforded of investigating the disease, and happily by his extensive dissections, elucidated some of the more intricate parts of its pathology, and aided in the establishment of a better system of practice. It may be safely affirmed, that no one was more correctly informed on the subject of this epidemic, and, not a little which has appeared under the authority of other names, I am prepared to state, was derived from his observations and researches.

At the close of the same season, he proceeded to Europe, for the purpose of improving his medical knowledge, and liberalizing his views by a wider survey of the world. During his absence, he divided his time between the English and French metropolis, and diligently availed himself of the immense advantages, which in these respects, each city affords.

That his talents and acquisitions were duly appreciated abroad, we have ample evidence in the attention which was paid him, and



in the very flattering notices he has since received in several of their writings.

In December, eighteen hundred and four, he returned home, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession. The reputation he brought with him, his amiable temper, and popular manners, his fidelity and attention, speedily introduced him to a large share of business.

From this period, professional honours were heaped on him with profusion. To the dispensary, the alms-house, and hospital, he was appointed surgeon, and in all our medical associations he held some elevated office. But there was reserved for him a still higher and more dignified station.

In eighteen hundred and seven, he was elected adjunct professor of surgery, where he continued till he succeeded to the chair of *Materia Medica*. Two courses of lectures he delivered on this subject, when a vacancy occurring in the chair of Anatomy, by the lamented death of the venerable incumbent,\* he was raised to that important professorship.

Considering himself now placed, for the first time, in the proper sphere for the exercise of his talents, and the gratification of a generous ambition, the appointment gave him much delight, and with ample preparation, he opened the session by one of the finest exhibitions of eloquence ever heard within these walls. But here ends his bright and prosperous career, and the expectations of success thus created, were not permitted to be realized.

Elevated to a position, above which he could hardly ascend, and surrounded by all that we most value, Providence seems to have selected him as an instance to teach a salutary lesson in the shortness of life, the insignificance of things transitory, and the importance of that eternity, which absorbs all being and all time.

On the evening of the same day that he pronounced his introductory lecture, and while the praises of it still resounded, he was attacked with a fever of such vehemence, that in one short week it closed his existence, leaving to us only his enviable name, and inestimable example.

Than this, no event of the same sort, within the range of possibility, at the present time, could be more severely felt by the community, and I believe, that there is not one of us who has bestowed any anxious thoughts on the state of our school, that will not confess his hopes clouded, and his spirit cast down by this heavy blow. The loss is indeed so great, that it cannot at once be replaced. Talents such as his are seldom possessed, and even if they could be met with, they would not immediately command that universal confidence which is necessary to constitute a great teacher or practitioner of medicine.

No high reputation or general influence can be gained by a single effort. They are the reward of long and unwearied exertion,

\* Dr. Wistar.

of sacrifices made, of ability proved by trials and difficulties. It was by a course of such arduous exertion, that he raised himself to the rank he held, and which no other individual can attain till he has ratified his claims, in the same way, to confidence and respect.

Dorsey was a man of no ordinary powers, and deservedly occupied a large space in the public eye. Naturally acute, vigorous, and discriminative, his mind was highly improved by education, and embellished by taste. Every department of medicine he had cultivated assiduously. But, it was for surgery he evinced a decided predilection, and in which he had the greatest proficiency.

As a science, he thoroughly studied it, and from the unequalled advantages he enjoyed, had become no less expert in the practice. Excepting one illustrious character, who has no rival, he was indisputably the most accomplished surgeon of our country, and, this high praise is conceded to him on account of the number, the variety, the difficulty of his operations, and the skill, dexterity, and boldness with which they were performed.

Excellence in this province of his profession, he must have attained, under almost any circumstances, so many were his qualifications. Clear in his views, and of sound judgment, he had also great mechanical ingenuity, delicacy of touch, and promptness of decision, and, hence, in conducting an operation, however new, or complex, there was a tone and firmness of manner which always inspired confidence, and insured success.

As a teacher of medicine, his merits were great, and universally acknowledged. Early employed in this field of exertion, his mind became perfectly disciplined, and the various subjects to which it was directed, it developed without faltering or embarrassment. It was this quickness of apprehension, and facility of execution, which caused him constantly to be resorted to in seasons of emergency, to supply the deficiencies produced by casualties in the school.

We have seen him on these occasions, in the same day, illustrate the operations of Surgery, and deliver the details of the *Materia Medica*, demonstrate the minutiae of Anatomical Structure, and expound the laws of the Animal Economy. Talent so flexible, and knowledge thus diversified, has rarely been concentrated in one individual, and still more rarely exhibited with such imposing effect.

It is remarked by the celebrated Hunter\* at the conclusion of one of his introductory discourses, that he should not attempt to give his class all which he knew, but so much only, as he thought they were capable of comprehending, or might prove useful. The lectures of our friend, were moulded on this principle, and it was one of the causes which conduced to his great success. Disdaining the parade of obsolete learning, the common resource of imposture in science, and those vain speculations, which, like other vapours, darken and bewilder, he collected the most important matter, and

\* Dr. William Hunter.



closely condensed, he gave it in a mode, plain, didactic and impressive. Controlled by a rigorous judgment, he seldom indulged in declamation, or was seduced into wild and excursive sallies and digressions.

Never failing in whatever he engaged to teach, it was, however, in the demonstrative branches of medicine, he particularly excelled. Not less by nature, than study, was he fitted for the undertaking. To exactness of knowledge, which he owed to a retentive memory, corroborated by the habit of intense application in early life, he added a fluent elocution, an entire self-possession, and a methodical and luminous mode of exposition.

But in no situation, did he appear to greater advantage, than in the discussions of our Medical Society. Constituted of many of the more active, intelligent, and enterprising of the practitioners of the city, and of the members of the Medical Class, this institution is admirably adapted for the display of talent, and the reciprocation of professional information.

As a debater, he never had a superior among us. The style of his speaking was peculiar and distinctive. Destitute of rhetorical pretensions, it had the character of warm and elevated conversation, and while it was sufficiently strong, to cope with the most powerful, it was intelligible, by its simplicity, to the meanest capacity.

Equally adroit in attack or defence, the resources he exhibited in these contests, and especially, when pressed by the weight of an adversary, were surprising, and often drew forth strong expressions of admiration and applause.

It has been objected to his speaking, that though always ingenious and forcible, it was occasionally loose and desultory. But this defect was visible only in those extempore effusions which escaped from him without premeditation or reflection, and proceeded in a great measure, from the fecundity of his genius, and the copiousness of his matter. Teeming with ideas, and exuberant in facts, it was not always he could preserve his arrangement, or the chain of his reasoning, perspicuous and consecutive.

As a medical writer he is certainly entitled to be placed among the most prominent we have produced. To the periodical journals he contributed many very valuable papers, and published the 'Elements of Surgery,' in two large octavo volumes, which is probably the very best work on the subject extant. Composed in a plain and unornamented style, it embraces within a narrow compass, a digest of Surgery, with all the recent improvements it has received, in Europe and this country.

Distinct from other evidence of its great merit, which might be cited, it affords me pleasure to state, that it is adopted as a text book, in the university of Edinburgh,\* and claims the credit of

\* This statement is made on the authority of the newspapers, strengthened in some degree, by previous intimations of such an intention.

being the very first American work on medicine, reprinted in Europe.

To us all this should be a matter of pride and exultation, since by thus reflecting the light of science from the new upon the old world, we can alone be able to redeem the heavy literary debt we have incurred, and vindicate the insulted genius of our country, from the contumelious reproaches, we have so long endured.

Dedicated as he was to his profession, he still did not neglect elegant literature, or the liberal arts. But on the contrary, he cultivated them with care, and found in the intervals of his leisure, that they smoothed the ruggedness of his severer studies, and afforded a refuge from the cares and irritations of business.

Between these chaste pursuits and the science of medicine, there would seem to be a natural alliance. Every age shows them to have been intimately associated, and in the beautiful mythology of antiquity, the disciples of Esculapius, and the votaries of the Muses, have the same tutelary divinity.

Extraordinary as were the powers of his mind, they did not surpass the qualities of his heart. What was said by Burke of Fox, that he was born to be beloved, is strikingly applicable to our friend.

As much as any man whom I ever knew, he was calculated to win attachments, and disarm enmities. Cordial, warm, generous, practising all the courtesies, and extending every kindness, in his intercourse with society, it was impossible to approach him without being conciliated, and further acquaintance, served only to confirm the agreeable prepossessions.

Frank, and unreserved, there was nothing in his deportment to inspire awe, or excite doubt or suspicion of his sincerity. No one, such was his habitual graciousness, however humble, was thrown at a distance, or rendered uncomfortable in his presence. Easy, cheerful, and good humoured, he diffused these pleasant feelings around him, and enlivened every scene into which he entered. Mixing much in the circles of fashion, his manners, naturally urbane, were highly polished, and his conversation, so various was his intelligence, and such the pliancy of his address, would amuse the gay, and instruct the illiterate, entertain the learned, and delight the grave and pious.

Yet, with this versatility of genius, and diversity of pursuits, he overlooked no important concern, or slighted any material duty. The review already presented, sufficiently shows, how attentive he was to his leading occupation, and its collateral engagements. Endowed with that peculiar constitution of character, which readily accommodates itself to circumstances, he could in the most remarkable degree, intermix amusement and business, without any serious encroachment, and preserve to a great extent, undisturbed, the order of systematised life.

As he lived so he died. Never shall I forget, the truly impressive scene. When, by his peremptory command, the awful communication was made of his irrecoverable state, he was composed,



firm, and resolute, confiding in the mercy, and resigned to the will of heaven.

As a christian, practising with more than ordinary punctuality the duties of his religion, death had to him fewer terrors. Emphatically, and with fervour, did he reiterate, the expression of his confidence in the atonement of his Saviour, and the comfort which he derived from this source. What else indeed can sustain us at such a crisis? An audacious spirit, roused by the pomp and pride of war, or a sense of duty or honour, will in the field affront death, and brave its consequences. But even he, in the gloomy chamber, and under the anguish of disease, where, no such adventitious impulse exists, without this only support, will shudder at the idea of dissolution, and the destinies of eternity.\*

As then, the foundation of all moral refinement, and as you regard your temporal and eternal interests, neglect not your holy religion. Next to its own immediate functionaries, it is incumbent on you, to nurture its spirit, and devote a decent attention to its external observances. Among other motives to do so, you will often be introduced into those vexed and troubled scenes, in which, while endeavouring to heal the infirmities of the body, it will be not less your duty to offer the *medicina mentis*, the solace, which it alone affords. At this conjuncture, he whom you may be invited to relieve, however much he might have previously confided in you, when the heart was light, and exulting in the plentitude of health, would shrink back, with instinctive horror, from the touch of the cold hand of scepticism.

But you also will require its consolations. No one can hope to escape the tempests of this life. There will be to you all, seasons of adversity, and days of trials. Deep afflictions will sooner or later cluster around you, and you will have to mourn over the ashes of departed joys. Then, will you learn, the impotence of reason, and, though philosophy may enable you to endure with becoming submission, these heavy dispensations, it is religion only, which can assuage the agony of grief, and prove a lenitive in sickness and in sorrow.

These are the more prominent incidents, and such the reflections they suggest, of the life of him, whose loss we deplore. It is now, in taking this sad leave, that we feel with renovated force the bereavement, which, in common, we have sustained.

Let us however endeavour to repress our unavailing regrets, and forbear to indulge any rebellious discontents. What, though his body lies covered with the sod of the valley, his soul has escaped to celestial regions, and partakes of the immortality of its God.

\* Smith's Eulogium on Washington.

ART. II.—*A Memoir* presented to the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race. December 11th, 1818, &c. By Prince Saunders. Philadelphia, 1818.

**M**R. Saunders (who we understand is of African descent,) appears desirous to persuade his sable brethren to emigrate to Hayti; the natural and political advantages of which country, he displays with great zeal. His design is certainly a good one, although it is to be feared, from this specimen of his intellectual powers, that he is not destined to be quoted by the abbe Gregoire as a proof of the mental equality of blacks and whites. At the conclusion of the memoir, he has introduced a letter from 'that distinguished philanthropist and enlightened statesman, sir Joseph Banks,' to the author, in which we were somewhat surprised to find the following passage. 'That the present possessors of the island of Hayti, hold it by *the best of human titles, that of conquest*, cannot be doubted.\*' Does sir Joseph mean that the conquest of a country confers a better title, in any sense of the word, than that which arises from the voluntary transfer of it by the inhabitants to another power? or if Napoleon had succeeded in the invasion of England, would this 'distinguished philanthropist' have acquiesced in his 'best of all possible titles.'

The subject of Mr. Saunders' memoir, is one which has not yet sufficiently excited the public attention. The situation of the free negroes, in a political and moral point of view, their future prospects, and the influence they are likely to possess upon our character and institutions, are considerations which seem generally to have escaped those who have remarked upon the genius, or speculated upon the destinies of the American people. We propose, therefore, to lay before our readers a brief view of their actual condition in Pennsylvania, and to offer a few remarks upon the course which, we conceive, ought to be adopted in regard to them, in the hope of inducing others to give the subject a fuller discussion. The population of the United States is divided, by the returns to the census of 1790, 1800, and 1810, into three classes. In the first are included the *whites*, in the second, *slaves*, and in the third, '*all free persons except Indians not taxed.*' By this loose and circumlocutory expression, free negroes are understood to be meant. The inhabitants, therefore, of the republic, appear to be separated into three distinct races. 1st. The aborigines, who form a very small portion of the whole number. 2d. The descendants of Europeans, and 3d. Those whose ancestors were brought from Africa; and this class is composed of slaves and freemen. In the year 1790, the number of inhabitants of the United States, amounted to 3,929,326, of whom 697,697 were slaves, and 59,481 free negroes. In 1800, the inhabitants were 5,303,666, of whom 896,849 were slaves, and 110,072 free negroes. In 1810, the inhabitants



were 7,239,903, of whom 1,191,364 were slaves, and 186,446 free negroes. In 1790, the proportion of whites to slaves was as 4 1-2 to 1;\* of whites to free negroes, as 53 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 4 1-7 to 1. In 1800, the proportion of whites to slaves, was as 4 7-9 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 39 to 1; and of whites to blacks, generally, as 4 1-4 to 1. In 1810, the proportion of whites to slaves, was as 4 10-11 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 31 4-9 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 4 3-13 to 1. It follows, from these statements, that notwithstanding the great and unprecedented increase of the white population of the United States, that of the blacks has been equally rapid, and that of the free negroes still greater. This important fact is, perhaps, still more clearly evinced by the following calculations, which we copy from Seybert's Statistical Annals.

'The annual increase per centum, of the free white population, during the 20 years, from 1790 to 1810, was 3,131; and the number of years required for a duplication, according to the ratio of the increase from 1790 to 1810, 22,48. The annual increase per centum, of "all other free persons except Indians not taxed," during the same period, was 5,879; and the number of years required for a duplication, according to the ratio of the increase from 1790 to 1810, 12,13. The annual increase of the slave population during the same period, was 2,711 per centum, and the number of years required for a duplication at that ratio, 25,99. The free white persons from 1790 to 1800, increased 36,30 per centum; from 1800 to 1810, 35,92 per centum, and from 1790 to 1810, 85,26 per centum. "All other free persons, except Indians not taxed," from 1790 to 1800, increased 185,05 per cent.; from 1800 to 1810, 169,29 per cent., and from 1790 to 1810, 313,45 per cent. The extraordinary increase of this species of our population, is owing to the emancipation of slaves by their masters, and the runaway slaves, who pass for free men in our cities.' P. 28, 29.

Let us now compare the population of three of the principal states; Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania. The first abounding in slaves, the two last possessing legislative enactments against slavery. In 1790, the population of Maryland amounted to 319,728; the proportion of whites to slaves was, as 2 to 1; of whites to free blacks, as 25 9-10 to 1, and of whites to blacks generally, as 1 10-11 to 1. In 1800, its population amounted to 349,692; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 2 1-14 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 11 1-9 to 1; and of whites to blacks generally, as 1 9-12 to 1. In 1810, the number was 380,546; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 2 1-9 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 9 8-9 to 1, and of whites to blacks, as 1 7-12 to 1. Here then we find, that the increase of blacks, and particularly of that portion of them which is free, has been uniformly greater than that of the whites. In the state of

\* That is nearly so. The fractions may not be exactly correct, but they are sufficiently so for the present purpose.

New York, however, the whites have increased more rapidly than the negroes, although the number of free blacks has greatly augmented. The whole number of inhabitants of that state in the year 1790, amounted to 340,120; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 14 7-10 to 1; to free negroes, as 67 to 1; and of whites to blacks, generally, as 12 1-13 to 1. In 1800, its population amounted to 586,050; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 22 to 1; to free negroes, as 53 to 1; and to blacks, generally, as 17 4-5 to 1. In 1810, its population was 959,049; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 61 1-6 to 1; to free negroes, as 36 1-4 to 1; and to blacks, generally, as 22 7-10 to 1. In Pennsylvania, so long since as the year 1780, an act was passed for the gradual abolition of slavery; which provided, that none born within the limits of that state, after the passage of the act, should be deemed servants for life, or slaves.\* The number of persons in that condition, has consequently been gradually reduced, till in the year 1810, they amounted only to 795. The increase, however, of the blacks in Pennsylvania, will appear from the following calculation, to have been unusually great, when it is considered that the white population has nearly doubled itself since that time. The whole number of inhabitants of Pennsylvania in 1790, was 434,373, the proportion of

\* We are induced to quote part of the preamble of this act, both on account of the beauty of the expression, and for the edification of those who can see nothing morally excellent on this side of the Atlantic. The whole civilized world has rung with the praises of the virtue and justice of the British government in abolishing, not slavery, but only the future traffic in slaves; while it seems to be generally forgotten that the example of a magnanimous sacrifice of pecuniary interest at the shrine of humanity, was first set by the state of Pennsylvania. The act to which we allude, begins thus:—

‘When we contemplate our abhorrence of that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us, when we look back upon the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and consider how miraculously our wants have been, in many instances supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict, we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings we have undeservedly received from that Being from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us, and to release them from that state of thralldom to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand.’—‘We esteem it a peculiar blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this day to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage; from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned, by a long course of experience, from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations, and we conceive ourselves at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon by the blessings which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our profession, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude.’



whites to slaves was, as 113 1-2 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 64 5-6 to 1; and of whites to blacks, generally, as 41 1-4 to 1. In 1800, the population was 602,545; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 343 2-3 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 40 1-4 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 36 1-3 to 1. In 1810, the population was 810,091; the proportion of whites to slaves, as 989 to 1; of whites to free negroes, as 34 7-9 to 1, and of whites to blacks, generally, as 33 2-3 to 1.—It is in the great cities, however, that we are to look for the most rapid increase of the black population. It is there that the fugitive slaves most easily escape detection; while the indolent disposition, and gregarious turn of this race, lead them almost invariably, when they have the choice, to prefer the occupations of towns to those of agriculture. We accordingly find, that by far the greater portion of the free negroes inhabit the Atlantic cities. In the city of New York, in 1790, the number of whites compared to the free blacks, was 26 4-5 to 1; in 1800, as 15 3-5 to 1, and in 1810, as 10 3-6 to 1. At Philadelphia, in 1790, the whites were, to the free blacks, as 24 2-3 to 1; in 1800, as 10 5-6 to 1, and in 1810, as 9 1-2 to 1. At Baltimore, in 1790, as 33 1-3 to 1, and in 1810, as 11 2-5 to 1.

It will be seen from these calculations, that the numerical preponderancy of the whites over the free negroes, has gradually, but steadily declined since the formation of the constitution; that the increase of the latter has not been confined to particular sections; and that their increase has been most rapid in the great cities. In Philadelphia, especially, the numbers of this class seem to have augmented at a much greater rate than that of the whites, although the white population has doubled itself in the twenty years which elapsed, previous to the census of 1810. The inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia, amounted in 1810, to 111,208, of whom 100,688 were whites, and 10,520 free blacks. It is probable that the number of the latter was much greater than is represented in the official returns, as many obvious motives would occur to induce a suppression, by the blacks, of the true state of their numbers. Admitting, however, this and the preceding enumerations to be correct, we shall find that the annual increase of the free negroes has far exceeded that of the whites. From 1790 to 1800, the increase of the latter had been at the rate of 4 2-7 per cent. per annum, and from 1800 to 1810, at the rate of 3 3-5 per cent. per annum; while on the other hand, the increase of the free blacks, during the first period, had been at the enormous rate of 22 1-3 per cent. per annum, and during the latter period, at the rate of 5 1-2 per cent. per annum. Supposing the increase to continue in the ratios last mentioned, the number of whites in 1820, will amount to about 137,000, and the blacks to about 16,300. The proportion between them will then be as about 8 3-8 to 1. The increase in their numbers, during the last five or six years, must have struck the most careless observer, even among those who see them only in the central parts of the city. But it is in the suburbs, and espe-

cially in the southern portion of them, that this growing mischief is most conspicuously exhibited.

No one can pass through those districts, without remarking at the same time, the increase and the profligacy of the negro population. The crowds of sturdy children, that may be seen at every door, show that no restraint is put upon their natural increase; while the indolence and vice which the countenances of their parents frequently exhibit, lead the observer to draw melancholy anticipations of their future destiny. If we add to this natural increase of the blacks, the accessions which they receive from the annual arrival of hundreds, who have either escaped from bondage, or otherwise made this city their place of residence, we shall probably be near the truth, in estimating their present numbers at about 17,000. Philadelphia has been expressively called, in some of the southern states, 'the paradise of negroes;' and when we remember the well-meant, but often indiscreet zeal of some of its inhabitants to better the condition of that class, it may well be considered in that light, by those among them who are content with personal freedom, and indifferent with regard to political rights.

We proceed in the next place to an examination of their political and moral condition. The constitution of Pennsylvania makes no distinction with regard to colour. 'All men,' says that instrument, 'are born equally free, and independent.'\* In conformity with this principle, are all its subsequent provisions. 'Elections shall be free and equal.'† 'Every freeman of the age of 21 years, having resided in the state two years next before the election, and within that time paid a state or county tax, which shall have been assessed at least six months before the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector.'‡ In relation to eligibility to office, the constitution is equally general and undistinguishing in its terms. The same comprehensive language is to be found in all the acts of Assembly, relating to the subject, which have been framed since the formation of the constitution, with the exception of that for the regulation of the militia, which provides, that 'all free, able bodied *white males*,' shall be liable to that duty. There seems nothing, therefore, in the constitution or laws of Pennsylvania, (with the exception last mentioned,) which creates a political distinction between the two races. It is in vain, however, that the principles of republicanism, as well as the words of the constitution, declare that all men are intitled to the same political rights. In the distinction of colour, nature seems to have fixed an insurmountable barrier to an union between the two great divisions of our population, in the exercise of the same privileges. Prejudices, arising from this cause, and from the real or fancied inferiority of the African race to the whites, which have been entertained since the introduction of negro slavery, prevent the latter from admitting the free blacks to an equality in political rights. They exhibit a

\* Art. 9, sect. 1.

† Art. 9, sect. 5.

‡ Art. 3, sect. 1.



spectacle anomalous under a form of government like that of Pennsylvania, but not altogether unprecedented in history, of freemen exercising no political rights, and liable to no political duties, separated into a class apart from the rest of society, but entitled, nevertheless, both on principle and law, to the full benefits of citizenship, and eligible to every office, not excepting that of chief magistrate. A more particular view of their political condition will show its incompatibility with the principles of republicanism. The negroes, then, are not permitted in practice, to exercise the right of suffrage, the first and most important privilege in modern republics. This right, as we have before observed, is made by the constitution to depend upon the payment of a state or county tax. Of the first, none, we believe, have as yet been directly levied. The county taxes, as well as those for the maintainance of the poor, and for other purposes, are annually assessed upon real estate, and upon the occupations or professions of individuals. And the acts by which they are governed, direct an enumeration and valuation of the 'taxable inhabitants' of each county; a form of expression, perhaps, designedly obscure, but which certainly draws no distinction between whites and blacks. It is only then through the indifference or forbearance of the free negroes, that they are not returned and assessed as 'taxable inhabitants;' because, we conceive, there can be no doubt that those who are omitted by the assessors, have a right to be inserted in the county books. They have, therefore, no voice in the formation of laws, upon which their happiness and security may naturally depend, nor in the choice of magistrates, by whom the laws are to be enforced. As a necessary consequence of this want of elective privileges, they are never candidates for office, nor employed in any public station. They are never summoned as jurymen, and of course, take no part in the administration of justice. The privilege, or as some choose to think it, the burthen of serving on juries, depends by law upon the same foundation as the right of voting; none but 'taxable inhabitants' being competent for either purpose. The same observation, therefore, will apply to both cases. The negroes have the same right, and are equally liable with the whites, although in consequence of not being taxed, they are, in practice, excluded. To those who have seen much of the trial by jury, especially in criminal cases, it is unnecessary for us to advert to the importance of this privilege. The best of men are liable to the influence of partiality and prejudice, although often unknown to themselves; and it is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, if juries, composed as they are now, altogether of whites, should sometimes lean in favour of those of their own colour, when the controversy is between them and negroes. The institution in England of juries *de medietate linguæ*, in cases in which foreigners are parties, owes its origin to a sense of this frailty of human nature, and the justice of this provision is as conspicuous as its humanity. One eighth part, therefore, of the population of Philadelphia is precluded from the exercise of the highest politi-

cal rights of freemen. Let us now take a view of their political duties. Society affords men protection in their lives and property, and receives, or ought to receive, in return, protection and support from each individual, and that in two ways; by personal service, or an equivalent for it in time of danger, and by pecuniary contributions for the purpose of defraying the expenses of government. Now in the state of Pennsylvania, all men are protected by the government, but the reciprocal duties of the citizen fall only upon one of the two classes into which its population is divided. The duty of personal service is provided for by the laws regulating the militia, which direct that only free white males shall be embodied for that purpose; and the custom has uniformly been in conformity with this direction. Those subject to militia duty are required to appear in arms twice in each year, in times of peace, under a penalty of two dollars from each individual.\* From this tax and the duty of defending the republic in time of war, the negroes are expressly exempted. *They* are not bound to undergo the labour and danger of camp service, nor the expense and temptation of peace trainings. *They* may pursue their ordinary occupations, and increase and multiply, unmolested by the din of war; while the blood and fortunes of the whites are lavished in defence of the country. The burthen of personal service is, however, one of the least which we owe to society. That of contributing in money to the support of the government, is an essential duty, from which no portion of the community ought to be exempted. We have seen, however, that one eighth part of the population of Philadelphia enjoys this singular and impolitic privilege, not from the express provision of the constitution or laws, but by a kind of tacit permission from the rest of their fellow citizens. The real estate of which they may happen to be owners, is, we believe, assessed like that of others,

\* Nothing, perhaps, could have been devised more inefficient for every good purpose, and at the same time more impolitic and prejudicial to the public morals and economy, than the militia system, as it exists in Pennsylvania, and probably in several other states. It falls with the most injurious inequality upon rich and poor. To the first, the payment of four dollars a year is a trifle, which can interfere only in the slightest possible degree with their comfort. The latter are compelled either to lose the profits of two days' labour; and which is far worse, are exposed to scenes of idleness and intemperance, or to submit to a deduction from their income of no trivial nature. It would require a volume to enumerate the imperfections of this and most of the systems by which the militia have been regulated. Dryden has described in strong and appropriate language the consequences of a similar plan.

'The country rings around with loud alarms,  
And raw in fields, the rude militia swarms;  
Mouths without hands; maintain'd at vast expense;  
In peace a charge, in war a weak defence;  
Stout, once a month, they march a blust'ring band,  
And ever, but in time of need, at hand;  
This was the morn when issuing on the guard,  
Drawn up in rank and file, they stood prepar'd  
Of seeming arms to make a short essay,  
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the day.'



but from the payment of personal taxes, they are altogether privileged.

The free negroes of Philadelphia are, therefore, excluded from the exercise of political rights, and exempted from the performance of political duties. If we take a view of their moral condition, and compare it with that of the whites, the result will, we fear, be no less fruitful in serious and alarming considerations. The rank which they generally occupy in the scale of society is well known. The greater part of them are engaged in the occupations of domestic servants and daily labourers, and in the performance of most of the lower offices of the community. Many, however, and a rapidly increasing number, obtain their livelihood by keeping shops, in which no great amount of capital is required; and a few have been able to acquire real property. From men in the situation in which the great majority of them is placed, we are aware that no very refined virtue, either of principle or conduct is to be expected; but with all due allowance on this score, we are persuaded that an examination of their morals, as far as it is practicable, will exhibit an unusually extended degree of crime and vice.\* It is an old and well established maxim, that without a general degree of virtue in the community, the laws are fruitless and vain. The morality of a people may be said to depend upon the sense of honour, the effects of education and example; and, above all, upon their religious belief. The first exists chiefly in the upper orders of society, and may operate favourably to the interests of the community, when religion and the moral sense are wanting. But to render the bulk of a people virtuous, it is necessary that the principles of morality should be cherished by education and example, and enforced by the powerful aid of religion. When its terrible denunciations come to the assistance of the moral law, an observance of the latter must necessarily be more conspicuous in the character of a nation. But when by a strange perversion of the true ends of religion, it is separated from, or set in opposition to the principles of morality, the consequences are by so much the more injurious to the peace of society. This appears to apply to a considerable portion of the negro population of the United States.

\* At a very early period in the annals of Pennsylvania, we find the character of this race put on record by the legislature; and an attempt made to check their increase. An act of assembly, passed in the year 1725, after declaring that, 'Whereas, 'tis found by experience, that free negroes are an idle slothful people, and often prove burthensome, and afford ill example to other negroes,' provided, that every master or mistress emancipating a negro, should give security in the sum of 30 pounds, to indemnify the city or township, in case he should thereafter become chargeable and unable to support himself; and that free negroes neglecting to work, should be bound out by the year by the justices of the peace. Another very important section of this act declared, that 'if any free negro should marry a white man or woman, such negro should become a slave for life;' and heavy penalties were imposed on whites cohabiting with negroes. The law of 1725 was subsequently repealed, but we find many other proofs of the dislike and alarm with which the early assemblies of Pennsylvania viewed the increase of this people.

Nothing is more dangerous than the extravagant pretensions to superior sanctity, acquired by the obstreperous devotions and *epileptic* enthusiasm of a camp-meeting; and if, as there is reason to think, a large number of the blacks belong to that fanatical class of people who, usurping and abusing the name of a respectable sect of christians, entertain the belief that the practice of morality is not essential to salvation; but that, provided there be *faith*, the commission of crimes, however heinous, brings no punishment or peril; then there can be no doubt of the mischievous effects of such tenets. We could expect little from the morals of a class of people by whom such opinions are generally entertained. Beside these causes, however, two others peculiar to their condition, contribute to deteriorate the moral character of the blacks. We mean their colour, and the effects of slavery. The first, through the force of prejudice, cuts them off from the prospect of attaining any considerable height in the scale of society, and thus takes away one great incentive to refinement of morals. Let us suppose the case of two mechanics of different colours, each of whom may have acquired a competency. The one gives his children a liberal education, because he is sensible that by this means he opens to them the avenues to the most honourable distinctions of life, and fits them for the society and comforts of the highest stations. The consequence is, in a republican country, a general tendency to improvement. The other has no inducement to do this, because he perceives that his children can never hope to attain distinction or preferment in political life, and that a superior degree of refinement will render them disqualified for the only society they can partake of, that of their own colour. The effects of slavery too, on the human mind and disposition, it has often been observed, are equally enduring and debasing. It is long before the vices, which that state never fails to beget, are completely eradicated. They descend from one generation to another, unless strong causes exist to produce a radical reformation. These causes can hardly be said to exist among the negroes of the United States. The want of personal ambition, on the contrary, and the influence of colour, render their situation far more hopeless than that of others in similar circumstances, of which history has preserved a memorial. Under the Roman and Grecian republics, when a slave was once admitted to the full privilege of citizenship, he mixed, unnoticed, with the rest of his fellow countrymen, because no odious distinction of features or colour kept alive the remembrance of his former condition.\* It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if with all these causes operating against them, the negro population of Philadelphia should frequently become liable to the jurisdiction of the criminal law; but we believe that even those who are inclined to

\* Some of the Roman slaves were of African origin, but their number was small, and like Terence, they were generally natives of the Mediterranean coast. The Grecian slaves were mostly brought from Thrace and the surrounding countries.



judge most unfavourably of the character of this race, are not aware of the extent of the evil. We have taken some pains to ascertain the comparative number of blacks who have come under the cognizance of the civil magistrate for the commission of offences; and although we have not been altogether successful, yet enough has been obtained to give a satisfactory idea of the general state of their morals. It appears from an authentic statement in our possession, that during the period of five months which elapsed between the 1st of October, 1817, and the 1st of March, 1818, 1367 persons were committed to the prison of Philadelphia, charged with offences; of whom 917 were whites, and 450 free blacks, and that during the succeeding seven months, 1823 persons were committed; 1200 of whom were whites, and 623 free blacks, making for one year a total of 2117 whites, and 1073 free blacks. The proportion then which the number of white offenders bore to the black, was not quite two to one; whereas, our readers will remember that we have estimated the proportion of white inhabitants to negroes, within the city and county of Philadelphia, as about eight to one. In other words, it follows, that one out of every sixteen blacks, was committed to prison in the space of a single year; while of the whites, only one out of sixty became in like manner amenable to justice!\*

This, however, it may be said, does not afford a fair criterion by which the comparative morality of the two races may be estimated. The partiality of the subordinate magistrates may induce them to lend too ready an ear to complaints against the people of colour, and thus a number who are on the records of the prison, may have been committed without just cause. Many of the negroes, it may also be said, by whom the prisons are crowded, have been committed merely as vagrants, and not as the perpetrators of crime. The records, however, of the criminal courts, afford a full and melancholy answer to this objection. We have before us a small pamphlet, published about two years since, by 'the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons,' which affords a statistical view of the operation of the penal code of Pennsylvania. It appears from the statements in this work, that on the 19th of July, 1816, 407 convicts were confined in the penitentiary and prison, for a term of one year and upwards. Of these, 231 were whites, and 176 blacks; the proportion being about as one and one-third to one! The convicts, it should be observed, are brought from all parts of the state; but of this number, 281 were convicted in Philadelphia, of whom the greater number were probably blacks. The relative proportion has not changed since that period, in favour of the negroes, as we find from a table published in the newspapers, of the offenders tried at the last court of oyer and terminer. This court, in which the highest offences are examined, is held twice a year in Philadelphia. At the session

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judge most unfavourably of the character of this race, are not aware of the extent of the evil. We have taken some pains to ascertain the comparative number of blacks who have come under the cognizance of the civil magistrate for the commission of offences; and although we have not been altogether successful, yet enough has been obtained to give a satisfactory idea of the general state of their morals. It appears from an authentic statement in our possession, that during the period of five months which elapsed between the 1st of October, 1817, and the 1st of March, 1818, 1367 persons were committed to the prison of Philadelphia, charged with offences; of whom 917 were whites, and 450 free blacks, and that during the succeeding seven months, 1823 persons were committed; 1200 of whom were whites, and 623 free blacks, making for one year a total of 2117 whites, and 1073 free blacks. The proportion then which the number of white offenders bore to the black, was not quite two to one; whereas, our readers will remember that we have estimated the proportion of white inhabitants to negroes, within the city and county of Philadelphia, as about eight to one. In other words, it follows, that one out of every sixteen blacks, was committed to prison in the space of a single year; while of the whites, only one out of sixty became in like manner amenable to justice!\* This, however, it may be said, does not afford a fair criterion by which the comparative morality of the two races may be estimated. The partiality of the subordinate magistrates may induce them to lend too ready an ear to complaints against the people of colour, and thus a number who are on the records of the prison, may have been committed without just cause. Many of the negroes, it may also be said, by whom the prisons are crowded, have been committed merely as vagrants, and not as the perpetrators of crime. The records, however, of the criminal courts, afford a full and melancholy answer to this objection. We have before us a small pamphlet, published about two years since, by 'the Philadelphia Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons,' which affords a statistical view of the operation of the penal code of Pennsylvania. It appears from the statements in this work, that on the 19th of July, 1816, 407 convicts were confined in the penitentiary and prison, for a term of one year and upwards. Of these, 231 were whites, and 176 blacks; the proportion being about as one and one-third to one! The convicts, it should be observed, are brought from all parts of the state; but of this number, 281 were convicted in Philadelphia, of whom the greater number were probably blacks. The relative proportion has not changed since that period, in favour of the negroes, as we find from a table published in the newspapers, of the offenders tried at the last court of oyer and terminer. This court, in which the highest offences are examined, is held twice a year in Philadelphia. At the session

\* These calculations are made on the supposition, which is believed to be nearly correct, that the city and county of Philadelphia contain about 120,000 whites and 18,000 blacks.

which ended on the 18th of January 1819, twenty-eight prisoners were indicted, of whom sixteen were whites, and twelve blacks, and seventeen offenders convicted; *nine* of whom were blacks, and *eight* whites. The inferior species of crimes are tried at the quarter sessions and the mayor's court; in both of which we have reason to believe there appears the same proportion of negro offenders. These records, then, furnish convincing proof of the alarming state of the morals of the free negroes. The extraordinary proportion which the number of offenders bears to the whole amount of the coloured population is, we believe, unexampled in the annals of any race, and argues a general and deeply seated corruption, which ought to awaken the attention of those who are to take care *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*. In a country overstocked with population, or liable, like the manufacturing parts of England, to sudden vicissitudes in the demand for labour, the number of criminals may sometimes bear a considerable proportion to the whole number of inhabitants; but when the same ratio exists, in a land where absolute want is unknown, except in those who are incapacitated from committing crimes, by the same cause which renders them incapable of earning their bread, there must either be something defective in the penal system, or something radically bad in the morals of the people. To conclude this hasty survey of the condition of the free negroes. We have shown that they are rapidly increasing in numbers; that every year has lessened the numerical superiority of the whites, and that they exercise no political rights, and perform none of the duties of citizens. We think it manifest, that as a body, they are depraved to an alarming degree; and that in fine, they are a burthen upon the rest of the community, whose morals they are daily corrupting by the influence of example.

Ought this state of things to continue? is a question which naturally arises, and to which we conceive but one answer can be given. If the present comparative rates of increase are maintained on each side, which there is no ground to doubt, for reasons which are to be stated hereafter, then, in no long time, the number of blacks will approach nearly to an equality with that of the whites. But supposing the same population to continue as at present, the grievance is not of a nature to be suffered to remain without some attempt at least to reduce it. Virtue has been truly said by Montesquieu, to be the basis of a republican form of government. Not that every individual must necessarily be good in an eminent degree, but that there ought to exist so much morality and intelligence in the majority of the community, as to induce them to choose virtuous and intelligent men for their representatives and magistrates. If the corruption of morals, which exists among the negroes, could be confined to themselves, or prevented from communicating itself to the rest of our population, we should have no fear for the soundness of the latter. Every thing that we know of them, leads to the belief that they are quite as moral in general, and certainly far more enlightened than the mass of the population in the



ancient republics. But against the spreading of vice, when it has once attacked a portion of a people, there can be no moral vaccination. That the influence of example is the most potent of all persuasions, especially when it is on the side of evil, has been the constant theme of moralists and philosophers.

There is reason then to fear that the morals of the bulk of the community will in time be affected, if strong measures are not taken to produce a change in the black population. Education, and the other causes which operate in a republican country, may do much to elevate the character and condition of a white population, but they must at least be retarded in advancement by the vicinity and fellowship of a race like the negroes. But this is not all that is to be apprehended from the unfortunate diversity of our population. It is not to be supposed, that the negroes will long remain content with their present political condition. While they see others around them enjoying the full benefits and privileges of freemen, they will naturally ask why they are forced to be satisfied with the scanty pittance of personal freedom. Already they evince a disposition to follow the steps of the whites in the paths which lead to political distinction. They are daily becoming more confident of their strength, and better acquainted with the means of exerting it with effect. They have societies of all descriptions, from 'The Washington Benevolent Society of Africa,' downwards. They have their own clergymen, physicians, and teachers. The zeal of the abolitionists has put them in the high road to political importance, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that they will not be as eager as any other part of the community to participate in the enjoyment of privileges, which the constitution has promised to all. The feelings of the people, nevertheless, are strongly against admitting them to a footing of equality in this, or any other respect.\* If then they are condemned to continue in a state of political degradation, it does not require a prophetic spirit to foretell the evils that will result to the community. History is full of instances of the calamities which have befallen republics, from a political discrimination between different portions of the same people. In regard to the division of her population, Sparta bore a strong resemblance to many of the United States. The inhabitants of that republic were separated into three classes; citizens, helots, and slaves. 'The helots,' says the abbe Barthelemy, 'must not be confounded, as they have been by some authors, with the slaves, properly so called. They rather occupy a middle state between slaves and free citizens.†' They were distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants by a particular kind of dress, as the *vôgô* of the American population are by their colour, and were liable to the

\* This disposition was displayed not long since in a very pointed manner, when an attempt was made by some of the blacks to establish a fire engine company; a measure certainly harmless, except as leading to other things. The temper evinced by the other companies was so decided, that the former were compelled to abandon their project.

† Travels of Anacharsis, chap. xlii.

punishment of death on the slightest suspicion, but in most other respects, their servitude seems to have been merely nominal. They farmed the land of the Spartans, not as the slaves of this country, but at a rent which was by no means equal to the produce, and appear to have acquired considerable riches and importance. They served too in the army and navy, and might thus be considered as a more useful class of people than the free negroes. But their advantages were far more than counterbalanced by their insubordination and treachery. From the time of their first reduction, the republic was constantly exposed to the danger of civil war; and in one memorable instance, a large body taking advantage of the difficulties of the Spartans, seized upon an important post and went over to the enemy. The population of Athens bore a still more remarkable resemblance to that of the United States. It was divided into citizens, *Μέτοικοι*, and slaves. When a slave was enfranchised, he did not pass into the class of citizens, but into that of the *μέτοικοι*, or foreign settlers, which was connected with the latter by liberty, and with that of the slaves, by the small portion of influence or respect it possessed. 'This intermediate class,' says the same author, 'to the number of about 10,000, consists of strangers, settled with their families in Attica; most of them exercising trades, or serving in the navy; *protected by, without participating in the government; free, yet dependent; useful to the republic, which fears them, because she dreads liberty detached from the love of country, and despised by a people at once proud and jealous of the distinctions annexed to the condition of a citizen.*'\* Like the free negroes with us, the intermediate class at Athens, was not inrolled in the militia; the privilege of defending their country (as it was considered in Athens), being granted only to citizens possessing property. Hence it happened, as we are told, that the loss of a battle, by enfeebling the class of citizens, tended to give the lower orders a superiority which might change the form of government.† But if history afforded us no examples, reason would teach us the danger of retaining a great and increasing portion of our population in a condition which gives them the power of doing the republic the most essential injury, without attaching them by ties of affection or interest to the cause of the country. Enjoying no political rights; connected with their rulers by none of those motives which bind the citizens of a republic to the officers of their choice; considered even as unworthy of contributing to the support and defence of the state; the objects of the scorn and insult, even of the lowest orders of the white population, what is to be expected of them, but turbulence and immorality, and a disposition to favour the cause of any foreign enemy with which the republic may be at war. We are not very sanguine, we confess, with regard to either

\* Travels of Anacharsis, chap. vi. They were not exempted from taxes, however, each family paying about three dollars a year of our money to the public treasury.

† Anacharsis, chap. x.



their moral or mental improvement, even though they should be admitted to a full participation of political rights; but without that, or without some alteration in the policy of the country in respect to them, we fear that at a future period, perhaps not very distant,

‘the curse of growing factions and divisions’

will avenge the wrongs of the Africans. We shall then add another to the numerous instances on record, of the misfortunes with which nature sooner or later punishes a violation of the great moral law. ‘Lento gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira; tarditatem vero supplicii gravitate compensat.’

The next question that arises is, what course should be adopted for the future? Ought the free negroes to be admitted to a footing of perfect equality in privileges and duties, or should measures be adopted to restrain their increase, and finally to remove them from the country? The subject, it must be admitted, is one full of difficulty on all sides. Any measure which would have for its object an alteration in the condition of this race, would, on the one hand, be met by the rooted prejudices of a large portion of the population; and on the other, by arguments on the score of justice and humanity. Some decision of the question, however, is imperiously required by a regard to the interests of both races. The evil has been suffered to increase to its present height through inattention, and every year renders a remedy more difficult.

To admit the negroes to the enjoyment of the same political rights that are possessed by the whites, would, we are persuaded, be a measure fruitful with the most ruinous consequences to the republic. Waving the question, whether the descendants of Africans are, or are not, inferior in intellect to the descendants of Europeans, a question which has divided the opinions of many philosophers, still the radical difference of colour affords a sufficient reason why the road to privilege and preferment should not be thrown open to them. Political parties, may, in some cases, be serviceable to the interests of a republic, to prevent the growth of that apathy and indifference to public affairs which frequently precedes the downfall of a free government. But the divisions of party should be founded on questions of policy in regard to the administration of affairs, and not upon the form of government, and with still more reason, not upon physical or moral distinctions. Where parties are made up of the rich on one side, and the poor on the other, one of two evils would probably happen. Either the powers of government fall into the hands of the poorer classes, in which case the wealth and talents of the other party is withheld from the service of the community, or rendered dangerous to it, and probably Agrarian laws are passed, prejudicial to the interests of the country; or the rich, and consequently the least numerous party obtains the ascendancy, and then the form of government is changed to an oligarchy or aristocracy. But the contest of parties is still more fruitful of danger to a republic, when the division is on phy-

sical grounds, such as that of white and black, and where the prejudices arising from colour are carried to any considerable height; and this we conceive is the course which parties would take, if the blacks increased to any thing like an equality of numbers with the whites, and enjoyed the full benefits of citizenship. The temper of the white inhabitants of Philadelphia, must be considerably changed before they would suffer themselves to be governed by a black mayor and councils, or to be arrested and carried to prison by a black constable. Rather than submit to a degradation of this kind, they would trample upon the constitution; and if, as is probable, the blacks were disposed to assert their rights by force, an intestine and servile war would be the consequence. We are aware of two objections to this supposition. It may be said, that there is no probability that the number of blacks will ever equal, or approach that of the whites; and in the second place, that it is to be expected that the prejudices of the whites will gradually wear away. If the question turned upon the natural increase of the two races merely, the first objection would have some weight, although we are disposed to believe, that even in that case, the augmentation of the negroes would be more rapid than that of the whites, on account of the high wages of labour. Luxury is said by philosophers, to be as unfavourable to population as great poverty. The first may exist among the whites, but it will be long before the difficulty of subsistence imposes a check upon increase in this country. But the great increase of the blacks in Philadelphia will, we conceive, be derived from another source. It is probable that after the population of Europe shall have accommodated itself to the new order of things there, the emigration of whites to America will cease to be very considerable, or will go, if at all, to people the western country. But the addition to the numbers of the negroes will proceed in an increasing ratio (unless checked by some strong legislative provision), in consequence of emigration from other states. Every year hundreds of emancipated slaves will find their way to 'the paradise of negroes;' and if once all of this colour are put in the way to political distinction, those already free will flock from other cities to swell the numbers, and augment the importance of their brethren. An increase of this nature must, of course, be limited by the demand for employment; but we are speaking on the supposition, that every occupation would be thrown open to them; and we can conceive no reason why they may not as well be tailors, shoemakers, and storekeepers, as the whites. The latter, on the contrary, emigrate to the western country. Dr. Smith has remarked, that 'after all that has been said of the levity and inconstancy of human nature, it appears evidently, from experience, that a man is, of all sorts of luggage, the most difficult to be transported.\*' This observation, however true of Europeans, is re-

\* *Wealth of Nations*. B. 1. chap. viii.



markably contradicted in America. The constant tide of white emigration to the west, which

like to the Pontick sea,  
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on,

evinces a restlessness of disposition, and a spirit of enterprise and independence, to which, perhaps, no other country can bear a parallel. The white population of our cities is thus kept from increasing in the ratio it otherwise would; while the emigration of the blacks being almost exclusively from the country to the cities, their augmentation is proportionally greater. We never hear of negroes removing to the west, except on compulsion. The same motives which lead the whites to that quarter, the hope, namely, of bettering their condition, induce the blacks to settle on the Atlantic frontier. These reasons are, we think, sufficient to show the probability that the blacks will continue to increase at the present rate. The next objection is one to which it is, perhaps, more difficult to give a satisfactory answer. Prejudices and antipathies, it will be conceded, do exist against the blacks in the great mass of the white population, whether well founded or not. There is nothing certainly in colour, of itself, nor any natural reason, perhaps, why a white man should be superior to a negro, and yet when one colour marks the descendants of slaves, and of the most ignorant and barbarous portion of the globe, and the other, the heirs of the wisdom, refinement, and freedom of Europe, they serve to perpetuate distinctions which otherwise might, in the lapse of time, like those of Rome and Athens, and the vassalage of the feudal system, be buried in oblivion. The discrimination is a matter of feeling, which will at least, for a long time, operate to keep the negroes out of the pale of white society, and separate them into a degraded and offensive cast, like that of the Parias of Hindostan. Is it likely that the present temper of the whites would be changed by such an alteration in the political and pecuniary condition of the negroes, as would bring them into competition with the better educated classes of society in politics and business? Already jealousies do exist between them and that part of the whites with whom they have a similarity of pursuits; and to suppose that the same feelings will not be created among the higher classes, when they shall hereafter come in contact, is to judge more favourably of human nature than experience warrants. Besides, are the advocates for negro improvement aware of the extent to which their philanthropy will lead? It is not in the nature of any us, black or white, to be satisfied with half-way measures. We must do all that others are allowed to do, or discontent will exist. If we were to give the negroes facilities to become our lawyers, physicians, and magistrates, we must throw open to them also the doors of our society; and then, in the course of time, the two races would, probably, be united by the marriage of our descendants with negroes and mulattoes. The abstract moralist may contemplate this pros-

pect with satisfaction, but we should consider it one of the greatest evils that could befall the country. We believe, therefore, for the reasons we have stated, that the consequences which would result from elevating the political condition of the blacks, would be more prejudicial to the true interests of the republic, than a continuance of the present system.

The plan of voluntary colonization, proposed by the society at Washington, appears to be eminently advantageous, if the consent of the blacks could be obtained; but in that lies the difficulty. It is to be feared that the scheme of persuasion is an hopeless one. No one who knows any thing of the character of the free negroes, can believe that, accustomed as they have now become, to the ease and security of civilized society, they will voluntarily leave it to encounter the barbarism of Africa. Their temperament is an African, not an European one. They have none of that enthusiasm and love of independence, which led our ancestors to endure the perils and labour of a new settlement in an unknown country, rather than submit to a diminution of civil or religious freedom. To them the slavery of their brethren in the southern states would be almost as acceptable as a removal from America. Probably not one in a thousand of this class could be induced, even if a bounty on exportation were offered, to accept the proposals of the colonizing society. Neither do we believe they will be much more disposed to follow Mr. Saunders' advice of emigrating to Hayti. The voyage, to be sure, is not long, and there they have the choice of two opposite forms of government in the same island. They may be *amici atque sodales* of the duke of Marmalade and the count of Limonade, and the other grandees of king Henry's court, or they may feel a taste for the more simple honours of senator or representative in the government of president Boyer. But the climate and language present formidable obstacles to those who would otherwise be disposed to emigrate; besides, that it is not altogether impossible that the French may again obtain possession of the island. Is there then, it will be asked, no way of escaping from the evils with which the increase of the black population appears to threaten us? We would venture to suggest a plan, which, though liable to objections, and not removing the complaint entirely, would still do much to repress its growth, and may pave the way for its ultimate eradication. In the first place, a law might be passed, forbidding the importation or emigration of blacks from any other portion of the United States; a stop would then be put to the introduction of fugitive or emancipated slaves, and the penalties might be of such a nature as would make it the interest of individuals to assist in carrying the provision into effect, while the punishment of transportation should be inflicted on those who clandestinely arrive after the passage of the law. It may be said that a measure like this would prove an obstacle to the emancipation of slaves in the southern states. If this would certainly be the consequence, we should not consider it of sufficient weight as an ar-



gument against some plan of the nature suggested. The abolition of slavery is certainly a desirable thing in the abstract; but if it is to be followed by an increase of the black population of our cities, the inhabitants of the latter would have the right to take precautionary steps against the consequences. But it is by no means clear that the plan we propose would have the effect of restraining emancipation, even if it were adopted in other quarters of the Union.\* Instead of giving his slaves their liberty unconditionally, the master would emancipate them on condition of their transporting themselves to some foreign country, and in this way the proposed settlement at Sierra Leone may be advantageously made. Their increase from abroad, being thus prevented, the next step would be to reduce their numbers at home. We would propose in the second place, to inflict the punishment of transportation upon every free negro convicted of a crime, for which he is not already liable to be punished by death; and we would add other penalties, so that the scale might still be preserved. This proposal may startle the philanthropy of some of our worthy citizens,† whose zeal in the cause of this race has often we fear, ‘outrun discretion;’ but when dispassionately considered, it will probably be found, upon the whole, as free from objection as any that could be devised. We see no difficulty on the score of constitutional principles. If an individual may be punished for a violation of the moral and municipal law, there is no reason why particular classes of individuals may not. We do not propose that they should be deprived of the same course of trial and defence that they now possess, but that the species of punishment only should be altered. As it is now, the enormous number of this people that crowd our prisons, is a grievance that calls loudly for reform. The difficulty of obtaining a suitable place for a colony of convicts, and the expense of maintaining them, are strong but not unanswerable arguments against this project. A settlement might, with proper care, be procured on the western coast of Africa, which would neither be objectionable on the score of climate nor of the hostility of the natives. The system pursued towards the aborigines by the founder of Pennsylvania might be tried, and little doubt can be entertained of its success. The expense of the colony would certainly be great for the first few years; but if the measure were adopted by the general govern-

\* We believe some provision of this kind exists in the state of Ohio.

† The punishment of transportation is, however, not new to the penal code of Pennsylvania. So far back as the year 1705, an act of assembly provided that negroes should be tried by two justices of the peace, and any six freeholders of the neighbourhood, and that for the crimes of murder, burglary, and certain others, they should be punished capitally; and for those of robbery, stealing, &c. they should be exported within six months after conviction, ‘never to return within the province, under pain of death.’

A very severe provision of the same law forbade more than *four* negroes to assemble together at a time on *Sundays* or other days, and a violation of the act was to be punished on notice to, and at the discretion of, a single justice of the peace, by whipping, not exceeding 39 stripes.

ment, and with the example of the English settlement at Botany bay before their eyes, a system might, we conceive, be adopted, of economy, without unnecessary severity towards the convicts.

It is sometimes objected to every scheme which has for its object the removal of the free negroes, that the country will suffer severely from the loss of their labour, which in many departments it will be difficult to supply. There is, however, very little cause for anxiety on this subject. In all the branches of labour, the vacancy created by their removal, will be speedily filled up, either by our own natives or by emigration from Europe, because, when men are free, there will generally be enough to supply the demand for their labour. We should then exchange an unsound and incongruous population for one descended from the same stock, and with a mental and physical conformation similar to our own.

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ART.—III. *Letters, &c. Relative to Wayne's Exploit at Stony-point.*

**A**MONG the many exploits of gallantry and prowess which shed a lustre on the fame of our revolutionary army, the storming of the fort at Stony-point has always been considered one of the most brilliant.

‘To general Wayne, who commanded the light infantry of the army, the execution of the plan was intrusted. Secrecy was deemed so much more essential to success than numbers, that it was thought unadvisable to add to the force already on the lines. One brigade was ordered to commence its march, so as to reach the scene of action in time to cover the troops engaged in the attack, in case of any unlooked for disaster; and major Lee, of the light dragoons, who had been eminently useful in obtaining the intelligence which led to the enterprise, was associated with general Wayne, as far as cavalry could be employed in such a service.

‘The night of the 15th of July 1779 was fixed on for the assault; and it being suspected that the garrison would probably be more on their guard towards day, twelve was chosen for the hour.

‘Stony-point is a commanding hill, projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three-fourths of its base. The remaining fourth is, in a great measure, covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river on the upper side, and continuing into it below. Over this marsh, there is only one crossing place. But at its junction with the river is a sandy beach passable at low tide. On the summit of this hill was erected the fort, which was furnished with a sufficient number of heavy pieces of ordnance. Several breast-works and strong batteries were advanced in front of the principal work, and about half way down the hill, were two rows of abattis. The batteries were calculated to command the beach, and the crossing place of the marsh, and to rake and enfilade any column which might be advancing from either of those points towards the fort. In addition to these defences, several vessels of war were



stationed in the river, so as, in a considerable degree, to command the ground at the foot of the hill.

‘ The fort was garrisoned by about six hundred men, under the command of lieutenant colonel Johnson.

‘ At noon of the day preceding the night of the attack, the light infantry commenced their march from Sandybeach, distant fourteen miles from Stony-point, and passing through an excessively rugged and mountainous country, arrived about eight in the afternoon at Spring Steel’s, one and a half miles from the fort, where the dispositions for the assault were made.

‘ It was intended to attack the works on the right and left flanks at the same instant. The regiments of Febiger, and of Meiggs, with major Hull’s detachment, formed the right column, and Butler’s regiment, with two companies under major Murfree, formed the left. One hundred and fifty volunteers, led by lieutenant colonel Fleury and major Posey, constituted the van of the right; and one hundred volunteers under major Stewart, composed the van of the left. At half past eleven, the two columns moved on to the charge, the van of each with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. They were each preceded by a forlorn hope of twenty men, the one commanded by lieutenant Gibbon, and the other by lieutenant Knox, whose duty it was to remove the abbattis and other obstructions, in order to open a passage for the columns which followed close in the rear.

‘ Proper measures having been taken to secure every individual on the route, who could give intelligence of their approach, the Americans reached the marsh undiscovered. But unexpected difficulties having been experienced in surmounting this and other obstructions in the way, the assault did not commence until twenty minutes after twelve. Both columns then rushed forward, under a tremendous fire of musketry and grape shot. Surmounting every obstacle, they entered the works at the point of the bayonet, and without having discharged a single piece, obtained complete possession of the post.

‘ *The humanity displayed by the conquerors was not less conspicuous, nor less honourable, than their courage. Not a single individual suffered after resistance had ceased.*

‘ All the troops engaged in this perilous service manifested a degree of ardour and impetuosity, which proved them to be capable of the most difficult enterprises; and all distinguished themselves whose situation enabled them to do so. Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort, and strike the British standard. Major Posey mounted the works almost at the same instant, and was the first to give the watch-word—“The fort’s our own.” Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox performed the service allotted to them, with a degree of intrepidity which could not be surpassed. Out of twenty men who constituted the party of the former, seventeen were killed, or wounded.

‘ The loss sustained by the garrison was not considerable. The return made by lieutenant colonel Johnson, represented their dead at only twenty, including one captain, and their wounded at six officers, and sixty-eight privates. The return made by general Wayne states their dead at sixty-three, including two officers. This difference may be accounted for, by supposing, that among those colonel Johnson supposed to be missing, there were many killed. The prisoners amounted to five hundred and forty-three, among whom were one lieutenant colonel, four captains, and twenty subaltern officers. The military stores taken in the fort were also considerable.

‘ The loss sustained by the assailants was by no means proportioned to the apparent danger of the enterprise. The killed and wounded did not exceed one hundred men. General Wayne himself, who marched at the head of Febiger’s regiment in the right column, received a slight wound in the head, which stunned him for a time, but did not compel him to leave the column. Being supported by his aids, he entered the fort with the regiment. Lieutenant colonel Hay was also among the wounded.’\*

The intrepidity, joined with humanity, its noblest companion, displayed on that occasion by general Wayne and his brave followers, cannot be too highly esteemed nor too frequently commemorated. It is therefore with great pleasure we give a publication to the following letters, not heretofore in print, from several of the most distinguished men of that period, showing the light in which they viewed the conduct of the *Pennsylvania hero*.

*General orders, for the attack. (rough draught.)*

The troops will march at — o’clock and move by the right, making a short halt at the creek, or run on this side, next Clements’s; every officer and non-commissioned officer will remain with, and be answerable for every man in his platoon; no soldier to be permitted to quit his ranks on any pretext whatever, until a general halt is made, and then to be attended by one of the officers of the platoon.

When the head of the troops arrive in the rear of the hill, colonel Febiger will form his regiment into a solid column of a half platoon in front as fast as they come up. Colonel Meiggs will form next in colonel Febiger’s rear, and major Hull in the rear of Meiggs’, which will form the right column.

Colonel Butler will form a column on the left of Febiger, and major Murphy in his rear. Every officer and soldier will then fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat or cap, as a mark to distinguish them from the enemy.

At the word *march*, colonel Fleury will take charge of one hundred and fifty determined and picked men, properly officered, with arms unloaded, placing their whole dependence on fixed bayonets, who will move about twenty paces in front of the right column, and enter the sally-port; he is to detach an officer and twenty men

\* Marshall’s Life of Washington.



a little in front, whose business will be to secure the sentries, and remove the abbattis and obstructions for the column to pass through. The column will follow close in the rear with shouldered muskets, led by colonel Febiger and general Wayne in person:—when the works are forced, and *not before*, the victorious troops as they enter will give the watchword———with repeated and loud voices, and drive the enemy from their works and guns, which will favour the pass of the whole troops: should the enemy refuse to surrender, or attempt to make their escape by water or otherwise, effectual means must be used to effect the former and prevent the latter.

Colonel Butler will move by the route (2), preceded by one hundred chosen men with fixed bayonets, properly officered, at the distance of twenty yards in front of the column, which will follow under colonel Butler with shouldered muskets. These hundred will also detach a proper officer and twenty men a little in front to remove the obstructions; as soon as they gain the works they will also give and continue the watchword, which will prevent confusion and mistake.

If any soldier presume to take his musket from his shoulder, or to fire, or begin the battle until ordered by his proper officer, he shall be instantly put to death by the officer next him; for the misconduct of one man is not to put the whole troops in danger or disorder, and he be suffered to pass with life.

After the troops begin to advance to the works, the strictest silence must be observed, and the closest attention paid to the commands of the officers.

The general has the fullest confidence in the bravery and fortitude of the corps that he has the happiness to command—the distinguished honour conferred on every officer and soldier who has been drafted into this corps by his excellency general Washington, the credit of the states they respectively belong to, and their own reputations, will be such powerful motives for each man to distinguish himself, that the general cannot have the least doubt of a glorious victory; and he hereby most solemnly engages to reward the first man that enters the works with five hundred dollars and immediate promotion, to the second four hundred dollars, to the third three hundred dollars, to the fourth two hundred dollars, and to the fifth one hundred dollars; and will represent the conduct of every officer, and soldier, who distinguishes himself in this action, in the most favourable point of view to his excellency, whose greatest pleasure is in rewarding merit.

But should there be any soldier so lost to every feeling of honour, as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or skulk in the face of danger, the officer next to him is immediately to put him to death, that he may no longer disgrace the name of a soldier, or the corps or state he belongs to.

As general Wayne is determined to share the danger of the

night—so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day in common with his fellow soldiers.

*Resolutions of Congress.*

In Congress, 26th June, 1779.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of congress be given to his excellency general Washington for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he has conducted the military operations of these states; and which are among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the late glorious enterprise and successful attack on the enemy's fortress on the banks of the Hudson river.

Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of congress be presented to brigadier general Wayne, for his brave, prudent, and soldierly conduct, in the spirited and well conducted attack of Stony-point.

Resolved unanimously,—That congress entertain a proper sense of the good conduct of the officers and soldiers, under the command of brigadier general Wayne, in the assault of the enemy's works at Stony-point, and highly commend the coolness, discipline, and firm intrepidity, exhibited on the occasion.

Resolved unanimously,—That lieutenant colonel Fleury and major Steward, who by their situation in leading the two attacks, had a more immediate opportunity of distinguishing themselves, have by their personal achievements exhibited a bright example to their brother soldiers, and merit in a particular manner the approbation and acknowledgments of the United States.

Resolved unanimously,—That congress warmly approve and applaud the cool determined spirit with which lieutenants Gibbons and Knox led on the forlorn hope, braving danger and death in the cause of their country.

Resolved unanimously,—That a medal emblematical of this action be struck. That one of gold be presented to brigadier general Wayne, and a silver one to lieutenant colonel Fleury and major Steward respectively.

Resolved unanimously,—That brevets of captain be given to lieutenant Gibbons and lieutenant Knox.

Resolved unanimously,—That the brevet of captain be given to Mr. Archer, the bearer of the general's letter, and volunteer aid to brigadier general Wayne.

Resolved unanimously,—That congress approve the promises of reward made by brigadier general Wayne, with the concurrence of the commander in chief, to the troops under his command.

Resolved unanimously,—That the value of the military stores taken at Stony-point be ascertained and divided among the gallant troops by whom it was reduced, in such manner and proportion as the commander in chief shall prescribe.

Extract from the minutes,

CHAS. THOMSON, *Sec'y.*



*Letter from Mr. Jay, to general Wayne.*

*Philadelphia, July 27th, 1779.*

Sir,—Your late glorious achievements have merited, and now receive the approbation and thanks of your country. They are contained in the enclosed act of congress, which I have the honour to transmit.

This brilliant action adds fresh lustre to our arms, and will teach the enemy to respect our power, if not to imitate our humanity. You have nobly reaped laurels in the cause of your country, and in fields of danger and death. May these prove the earnest of more, and may victory ever bear your standard, and Providence be your shield.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN JAY, *Presid't.*

*Brigadier General Wayne.*

*Letter from General Wayne, to Mr. Jay.*

*West Point, 10th Aug't. 1779.*

Sir,—Your very polite favour of the 27th ultimo, with the extract of an act of congress, I have just now received.

The honourable manner in which that respectable body have been pleased to express their approbation of my conduct, in the enterprise on Stony-point, must be very flattering to a young soldier; but whilst I experience every sensation, arising from a consciousness of having used my best endeavours to carry the orders of my general into execution, I feel much hurt that I did not in my letter to him of the 17th of July, mention, among other brave and worthy officers, the names of lieutenant colonel Sherman, majors Hull, Murphey and Posey, whose good conduct and intrepidity justly entitled them to that attention.

Permit me, therefore, through your excellency, to do them that justice now, which the state of my wound diverted me from in the first instance. And whilst I pay this tribute to real merit, I must not omit major Noirmont de Luneville, a French gentleman, who (in the character of a volunteer) stepped among the first for glory. I will only beg leave to add, that every officer and soldier, belonging to the light corps, discovered a zeal and intrepidity, that did and ever will secure success.

I am with every sentiment of esteem, &c.

ANT'Y. WAYNE.

*His excellency John Jay, Esq. Pres't of Congress.*

*Marquis de la Fayette, to General Wayne.*

*Havre, 7 October, 1779.*

Dear sir,—With the greatest pleasure I take this opportunity of congratulating you on your admirable expedition at Stony-point.

Besides the general and hearty satisfaction I feel from any advantage which may bless the arms of my fellow American soldiers, I was particularly delighted in hearing that the glorious affair had been conducted by my good friend *general Wayne.*

I beg, my dear sir, you would present my compliments to my friends and acquaintances in the army, and believe me most affectionately yours,

LA FAYETTE.

*The Honourable Brigadier General Wayne.*

*General St. Clair, to General Wayne.*

*New Windsor, July 17th, 1779.*

Dear general,—It was with true pleasure that I received the news of your success at Stony-point, on which I beg leave to present you my cordial congratulations. It is an event that makes a very great alteration in the situation of affairs, and must have important consequences, and the more glorious from being effected with so little loss. It is, in short, the completest surprise I have ever heard of. Please to present my compliments to the gentlemen of your family and all our friends, and believe me with much esteem,

Dear general, &c.

AR. ST. CLAIR.

*General Joseph Reed, Governor of Pennsylvania, to General Wayne.*

*Philadelphia, July 20, 1779.*

Dear general,—Until you receive more substantial marks of honour and public regard, accept the sincere congratulations of one of your best friends on your late success. It is not the surprise of a post, or the capture of five hundred men that pleases me, so much as the manner and address with which it has been executed. You have played their own game upon them, and eclipsed the glory of the British bayonet, of which we have heard so much.

God grant you health and long life to enjoy your laurels.

Yours most sincerely,

JOS. REED.

*General Schuyler, to General Wayne.*

*Saratoga, July 31, 1779.*

Dear sir,—Yesterday I was honoured with a line from our amiable general, advising me of the reduction of Stony-point, and dwelling on the propriety and bravery with which it was executed. It was not the least part of my satisfaction to learn that *you* conducted it. And I most sincerely congratulate you on the increase of honour you have acquired. Such of the enemy as have hitherto held erroneous ideas of the military prowess of our troops, must now be perfectly convinced of their mistake.

Pray make not my compliments only, but my love to St. Clair, and do you and he continue yours to that great good man to whom we are so much indebted.

Remember me to your family, in which I include those I have been happy with at your quarters. Adieu.

I am, dear sir, &c.

P. SCHUYLER.



A slight remains of an indisposition prevents me from a visit to the army: I hope however soon to have the pleasure of seeing you.

*Honourable General Wayne.*

\* *General Washington to General Wayne.*

*West Point, July 30, 1779.*

Dear Sir,—Your favour of this date came duly to hand. I shall certainly not undertake any thing (capital) without your knowledge—I wish for your opinion as friend—not as commander of the light troops—whether another attempt upon Stony-point by way of surprise is eligible.—In any other manner, under present appearances and information, no good, I am sure can result from it.

Lord Cornwallis is undoubtedly arrived, and I have information, that bears all the marks of authenticity, that admiral Arbuthnot with the grand fleet left Torbay the 26th of May, with (as it is said) 7000 troops, Hessians and British, for America—a deserter, who left the city of New York on Tuesday last, says it was reported that a number of transports had arrived at Sandy Hook. Firing he himself heard. I have not heard, nor is it my belief, that lord Cornwallis supersedes sir Harry.

I am very sincerely and affectionately, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

*Mr. Thomas Burke, Member of Congress, to General Wayne.*

*Philadelphia, July 19, 1779.*

Dear sir,—I congratulate you on the signal and brilliant success of your enterprise against Stony-point. This gallant and important affair has filled us all with very high satisfaction, and mine, I assure you, is peculiarly improved, because an officer of whom I had conceived a very high opinion, and for whom I have a very great esteem and regard, has conducted it and obtained such singular glory.

The happy effect of your good conduct has saved your humanity the pain it would have felt, had your enterprise cost you the lives of many of your brave soldiers and gallant officers, and even had you been under the necessity of slaughtering many of the enemy. To the humane (and such are all the brave and good), this is a very pleasing circumstance attending your success. Every one remarks, that your magnanimous generosity has triumphed over the enemy, as much as your courage and conduct.

I was much concerned when I heard you were wounded, but learning on inquiry that it was but slight, I considered it not worth attention in so great an affair; and I find by your letter to general Washington you did not think it of consequence enough to mention it.

\* This is the third letter written by Washington to general Wayne after the affair of Stony-point; the first, which contained expressions of the warmest approbation and thanks, has already been published.

Having mentioned your letter, I must declare I think it a just model of martial eloquence, equalled by none but Cæsar's *veni, vidi, vici*. I wish your example may be followed in this as well as in the other parts of your military character. I wish you long life, I need not add glory, for you will have it, and am,

Dear sir, very truly, &c.

THOS. BURKE.

*General Wayne.*

*Dr. Rush, to General Wayne.*

*Philada. August 6, 1779.*

My dear sir,—There was but one thing wanting in your late successful attack upon Stony-point to complete your happiness, and that is, the wound you received should have affected your *hearing*, for I fear you will be stunned through those organs with your own praises.

Our streets, for many days, rung with nothing but the name of general Wayne. You are remembered constantly next to our great and good general Washington over our claret and madeira. You have established the national character of our country. You have taught our enemies that bravery, humanity, and magnanimity, are the national virtues of the Americans. Accept, my dear sir, of my share of gratitude for the honour and services you have done our cause and country; Mrs. Rush joins in the offering; and when our little ones are able to repeat your name, we shall not fail to tell them, in recounting the exploits of our American heroes, how much they are indebted to *you* for their freedom and happiness.

Adieu, my dear friend, and be assured of the sincere affection of  
Yours, &c.

BENJN. RUSH.

P.S. Many congratulations on count D'Estang's victories in the West-Indies. Britain, I hope, will soon enjoy the heroic pleasure of dying in the *last ditch*. Are not peace, liberty, and independence before us? There will be no end to our commerce, freedom, and happiness. I had liked to have added *grandeur*; but *grandeur* belongs not to republics.

Best compliments to colonel Butler and major Stewart, who shared so largely in the danger and glory of your late victory.

*General Charles Lee, to General Wayne.*

*Berkely County, August 11th, 1779.*

Sir,—You will do me the justice to acknowledge that at the time I was taught to think (I am sure without foundation), that you were one of the most active in my prosecution, I gave it as my opinion that you were a brave officer, and an honest man. You must likewise recollect, that when you sent me a certain message at Elizabeth town,\* I told you that if I was appointed to a command,

\* The allusion is to an unfortunate misunderstanding which had existed between them.



and had my choice of brigadiers, you should be one of my first election; I hope therefore that what I am going to say you will not consider as paying my court in this your hour of glory, for as it is, at least, my present intention to leave this continent, where I have been so scurvily and ungratefully treated, I can have no interest in paying my court to any individual: what I shall say, therefore, is dictated by the genuine feeling of my heart.—I do most sincerely declare, that your action in the assault of Stony-point is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, through the whole course of this war, on either side, but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history:—upon my soul, the assault of Sweidnitz, by marshall Laudun, I think inferior to it. I wish you, therefore, most sincerely, joy of the laurels you have deservedly acquired, and that you may long live to wear them,—and if you have leisure, as I am curious in these details, to inform me of the particular order of your disposition, you will much oblige one who is, without flattery, with respect and no small admiration, your most humble servant,

CHARLES LEE.

*General Armstrong\* to General Wayne.*

*Philada. 15 Sept'r. 1779.*

Dear general,—I consider you now, as your friends and fellow citizens generally do, a favourite in the dispensation of great and brilliant events, which the supreme agent so specially bestows even on soldiers of the first natural firmness once in an age, or in the course of some great revolution, heaven marks out some particular leader for an acquisition like yours at Stony-point. Not for the aggrandizement of the individual so making a feeble indirect mode (for you know the frailties of our nature), but rather for the illustration of his own will and approbation of the cause he has vouchsafed to espouse, is this lustre thrown on the infant arms of America. You will then ask what share of these distinguished honours belongs to you? I answer enough; and more than your feeble shoulders, or the mind of any soldier on earth is able to bear without the same aid that first led you up to the charge, but *operating in a different manner*; nor is there less heroism and true magnanimity requisite in supporting under, and properly improving, such signal honour attended with her infectious train, than that which possessed the breasts of your brave little army when contrasted to every implement of death, 'greater is he who ruleth his own spirit under every temptation, than he who taketh a city.'

I have on purpose deferred this short congratulatory letter, old fashioned as I designed it to be, in order that time might be given for the evaporation of aerial particles as generally mix with those of modern complexion, and whilst I rest assured of your candid construction, I beg you to believe the high sense I am happy to possess of the obligations of the public to your merit, and that of your

\* Father of the late secretary at war of that name.

† Solomon.

gallant assistants, and that I am with every sentiment of gratitude and esteem, dear general,

Your affectionate friend, &c.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

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ART. IV.—*A History of the United States, before the Revolution, with some account of the Aborigines*, by Ezekiel Sanford. Philadelphia, 1819.

**E**VERY attempt at a history of the United States, made by a writer even of common industry and talents, may be considered as deserving of a general welcome. Although it should be far from supplying the great desideratum, it cannot fail to open some new views, or produce some recondite facts, conducive to the perfect success of future and more adequate labours in the same department. Besides, it is read, at its first appearance, by many whose attention might not otherwise be drawn to the subject, which is thus rendered familiar; and it may fall into the hands of some, who would, without this additional chance of instruction, remain wholly ignorant of our national annals.

The present essay of Mr. Sanford has, unquestionably, these advantages; and some more positive recommendations to the favour of the public. The author is, we learn, an American by birth;—a very young man, uncommonly well educated; devoted to the most liberal studies, and animated by a lively desire of winning distinction for himself and his country in the world of letters. He has not ventured forth now, in so formal a manner, without having published much before, although anonymously; and without having met with a degree of success sufficient to entitle him to place a certain reliance on his powers. He conducted this magazine, for sometime with signal ability, and has enriched it with many articles remarkable for their superior tone and texture. The whole strain of the production, which we are now offering to the notice of our readers, bespeaks habits of research and combination; considerable practice in composition, and a wide acquaintance with elegant literature, independently of the proper knowledge of the books appertaining to his theme.

Our national history and concerns are the subjects with which every patriotic and judicious citizen would wish the American youth to be principally conversant, after their scholastic education is terminated. It is about our own affairs that we would have them write, when they are so mature in their attainments, and expert in their literary exercises, as to be entitled to commit themselves to the press. An immense field is open at home for all the nobler kinds of writing—for the employment of the highest faculties; scope is not wanting for any measure of excellence, and reputation, in history, political philosophy, and the moral sciences generally. There is one most important and fruitful subject—man in his natural or savage state—which would assure the fame of a Tacitus to whomsoever should undertake it with the ordinary qualifications



of a philosophical historian. It holds out such strong temptations to literary ambition that, making even every allowance for the state of society in this country, we are at a loss to comprehend why we have yet to lament the want of a full and standard work on the aborigines of North America. A pretty voluminous account of some of the principal tribes, has been recently issued under the auspices of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society. It was prepared for the press, from the manuscripts of the author,—the reverend Mr. Heckwelder—by Mr. Duponceau of Philadelphia, who has added to it much preferable matter of his own, on the Indian languages. This accomplished and indefatigable philologist has displayed in his additions, his characteristic ingenuity, and has left nothing to be regretted, for the main treatise, on the score of literary execution. The whole does not, however, constitute that comprehensive and finished monument to which we have alluded above.

Mr. Sanford has prefixed to his sketch of our History before the Revolution, a copious dissertation on the aborigines, to which we would ascribe more merit than to the history itself, without meaning to disparage the latter. The third section of this dissertation presents a sort of historical map—more complete than any we had before seen,—of all the various tribes within the territory of the union. He has endeavoured, as he suggests in his preface, to throw some light upon all the questions connected with their origin, their revolutions, their numbers and their disappearance. He begins with a review of the several claims to the discovery of this continent, and exposes the absurdity of those advanced in favour of the Phœnicians, the Welsh, the Chinese, and the Carthaginians respectively. The origin of our Indians is a problem which has exercised the learning and sagacity of many eminent writers. Mr. Sanford shows much reading on the subject; he discusses at length the prominent theories, and combats, with no inconsiderable address and effect, those built upon ‘similarities of language, traditions, manners, and monuments.’

In handling the knotty point—whether the territory of the United States was originally inhabited by a race of Indians half civilized,—our author refers to the earliest authorities, Veragan and the relater of Ferdinand de Soto’s expedition. He furnishes his readers with a very interesting abstract of De Soto’s travels, which we should be glad to think as authentic, as they are entertaining and curious. But we are disposed in common with critics of more weight than ourselves, to question the truth of the details concerning the numbers, pursuits, and general advancement of the tribes whom the Spaniard is said to have visited. The story of the expedition wears throughout an air of the marvellous suited to the temper of the times in which it was written. Our author does not appear to entertain any doubts, and concludes his skilful abstract with the following observations.

‘From the foregoing detail it will appear, that, at the time of De Soto’s expedition, this country was occupied by extensive communities of people; separated from each other by belts of hunting forests; living in comparative peace; and given chiefly to agricultural pursuits. They planted extensive fields of corn; and cultivated such other vegetables as were necessary to their subsistence, or conducive to their gratification. The bow and the trap easily supplied them with the requisite animal food; and in the midst of peace and abundance they found both the disposition and the time to improve the circumstances of their domestic economy. They erected walls about their towns; made their houses more commodious and of better materials; became more refined in their ideas of government, law, and morality; more luxurious in their dress and equipage; more tasteful in their ornaments; more cleanly in their persons, and more dignified in their manners. But with the tastes and notions of the savage, they lost their strength and ferocity; and, though still formidable by their numbers and discipline, would, without much difficulty, fall a prey to a more hardy and warlike race. That such a race existed in the north, there can be little doubt,’ &c.

Mr. Sanford terminates his historical survey of the tribes within the actual territory of the union, by a train of general and for the most part solid remarks, on their institutions, dispositions, and domestic habits. We are tempted to quote the following passages.

‘Distant observers are apt to represent the Indians, like the Cyclops, as totally destitute of policy or government; while those, who have too near a view, are fond of painting their state as the most perfect, in both these respects, of which the nature of the species is susceptible. The truth never lies in extremes. The Indians are neither Cyclops nor angels. That they have some government, it would now be ridiculous to deny; and that the different nations are capable of associating for the attainment of a joint object, is manifest from the whole history of the United States. While we were yet in infancy, they foresaw the inevitable consequences of our growth; and often formed extensive confederacies, for our extermination. Through all our wars with the French, too, they observed the invariable policy of joining the strongest party, or selling themselves to the highest bidder; and a brief review of the conduct pursued by the western clans, will show, that while their allies tendered them bribes for their co-operation, they only paid them for serving their own purposes.

‘There are, however, certain customs, so deeply rooted in the savage character, that it is impossible to bend or control them in any manner. When, for instance, they have resolved to burn or tomahawk a captive, no moral power on earth can shake their purpose. They become, at once, a frantic mob; and wo be unto the chief who attempts to rescue the victim from their clutches! We may observe, too, that like all other nations, they have as much law as they need. Most of the laws which swell our own statute-books,



are made for the regulation of private property; but the property of the Indians is for the most part, in common: almost the only question, which seems to have arisen on the subject, was, whether infants should have as much adults; and this has been wisely resolved, by giving to each individual an equal share, without regard to age.

‘We wish that the religion of the Indians was as little doubtful as their government. According to some, they have the most sublime notions of Deity; others find them grovelling in the basest superstition; and if the suffrages were taken, we fear that the latter would constitute the majority. “The Indian,” says one, “considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise, and benevolent Manitto; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use, by the Great Spirit who gave him life: he therefore believes it his duty to adore and worship his Creator and Benefactor,” &c. Now, it is a little singular, that when the Swedes first landed in Delaware, the natives gave the same name, Manitto, to a being which is as far from being all-wise, as it is from being benevolent. “Over against Poætquessingh,” says their historian, “there useth a sort of fish there with long great teeth, which the Indians call *Manitto*, that is, the devil: he plungeth in the water very much, and spouts the water up as a whale, and the same sort is not seen or found elsewhere in the river.” The truth, probably, is, that the Indians have some vague idea of a being who is far superior to themselves; but their ideas are too apt to become definite, at the appearance of any extraordinary phenomenon.

‘It appears to be an absurdity to think of instilling into a savage, while he remains a savage, such notions of deity as are entertained by the christian world. The whole state of an Indian,—his system of habits, thoughts, and persuasions, is so completely opposed to that of the civilized man, that what the latter teaches for one thing, the former receives as another; or, if the doctrine penetrates him at all, it is only to be debased by an association with his own peculiar ideas. He mistakes the purpose of the simplest objects. When sir Francis Drake put manacles upon a Patagon, in order to carry him away, the unsophisticated being supposed them a most magnificent decoration, and could only express his delight in an obstreperous roar. The Dutch, on their arrival at New York, supplied the Indians with axes, hoes, stockings, and other articles. They went their way, but returned, in the following season, with the axes and hoes suspended from their necks, as ornaments, and the stockings turned into tobacco-pouches. Their notions of christianity seem to be equally irrational. One of the Jesuits took great pains to convert an Indian chief; and, to all external appearances, he had completely succeeded. “The French,” (at Montreal), says our author, “gave him christian burial in a pompous manner; the priest that attended him at his death, having declared that he died a true christian; for, said the priest, while I explained to him the

passion of our Saviour, whom the Jews crucified, he cried out: Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his death, and brought away their scalps."

' In their marriages too, the Indians have nothing in common with civilized men. The contract generally begins, and ends, in mere convenience; or, if the parties are sometimes swayed by a more refined motive, there is so little in their habits to keep it alive, that one or two years are generally sufficient to dissipate the charm. The chief duties of the husband are, to provide a cabin, game, and utensils for cooking. The squaw tills their ground; fetches all their wood; and, when on a journey, transports all their baggage. It is considered as a privilege, that she can change husbands when she pleases; but this is only the privilege of leaving one master, who has ill treated her, for another, who will treat her in the same manner. It is a privilege, however, that when she quits her husband, the children follow her; for, as each person, whether old or young, receives an equal dividend of national property, the more numerous the family, the more easy are their circumstances.

' Some authors represent the Indians as little superior to beasts of prey; while others make them the most innocent beings on this side of paradise. The former only look at their treatment of enemies; and the latter have an eye merely to their conduct towards friends, strangers, and each other. There is some truth on both sides of the picture. The Indians are as extreme in their benevolence, as they are extravagant in their cruelty. They can neither do too much for a friend, nor too much against an enemy. Many of the tribes were accustomed to set apart houses for the sole use of strangers; and upon the arrival of a guest, a whole village contributed their efforts to give him fit entertainment. Experience has taught each tribe too, that nothing but the most perfect harmony among themselves, will enable them to maintain their station in the Indian commonwealth; and we have it from a white, who has been an Onondaga chief for about forty years, that during all that time, he has never seen one Indian give another an ill-natured word,—much less a blow.

' The writers who have hitherto speculated upon the decrease of the Indians, are prone to lay great stress upon the destructive operation of ardent spirits; attributing extravagant effects to what, in its immediate effects, is comparatively a trifling cause; and passing over those acknowledged principles, by which the population of every country must be regulated. The ravages of drunkenness must, we admit, be greater among the Indians than among ourselves; and for this extremely plain reason, that the practice is more universal. But, if their disappearance is not the effect of something more radical than an attachment to strong drink, why are they running in a continual stream to the west,—abandoning the land of their forefathers, to live in hopeless temperance, beyond the reach of civilization?



‘ According to the writers on political economy, the two great causes of all depopulation, are, *first*, a diminution in the quantity of that kind of provision which has been customarily used; and, *secondly*, an increase in the expensiveness of living, occasioned by the introduction of more costly food. The Chinese (if it be necessary to take examples), subsist chiefly upon fish; and the Persians upon melons; but should the fish no longer continue to swim in the rivers of China, or the melon be no longer able to extract nourishment from the soil of Persia, it is obvious that the inhabitants of each of these countries must suffer a very serious numerical diminution. As the commonalty are by far the most numerous class of population, and as they are barely able to support themselves, by the ordinary supply of that kind of provision to which they have been accustomed, the moment that such a supply is unattainable, the prospect of marriage is removed from their view; for, with few exceptions, it may be laid down as a truth, that no man will burden himself with the weight of a family, until he knows that he shall be able to sustain it.

‘ The same observations may be applied to the other division of the subject. Should any revolution in the manners of the Chinese, or of the Persians, make *animal* food a necessary constituent of their diet, a decrease of population would be the inevitable effect: for, although the supply of ordinary food may still continue to be afforded, yet flesh has become an article of domestic necessity; and no man will be likely to marry, unless he has a prospect of being able to support a family, in the use of this new species of sustenance. It is in vain to allege, that the old kind of diet is sufficient for all the purposes of actual necessity. The laws of fashion, though mutable, are imperious. “Men will not marry,” says a philosopher, “to *sink* their place or condition in society, or to forego those indulgencies, which their own habits, or what they observe among their equals, have rendered necessary to their satisfaction.” We have confined our view to the article of food; but it is evident that the same reasoning is applicable to dress, to drink, to houses, to furniture, and, in short, to every thing connected with the economy of life.

‘ Nearly all the land, which is now owned by the United States, or by the states separately, has been fairly purchased from the aborigines; and some of it has been purchased several times over. To civilized men, perfidy appears to be a leading trait in the character of the Indians; but they are certainly faithful, so far as their principles go; and perhaps it would be difficult to find the people that can boast of doing more. They consider no treaty as binding, unless it is begun and concluded, on their part, in the most unconstrained and voluntary manner. A lack of food, or a superiority of force, has often compelled them to treat of peace; and they never suppose such treaties obligatory, any longer than their new supplies continue, or their numbers appear too small. The whites have

a different opinion; and questions of this kind can only be decided by arms.

‘But while we are enforcing our rights, let us not forget our magnanimity. The Indians are not equal to us in any respect; and whatever may have been the justice of treating them with severity, while we were yet a cluster of feeble and distracted colonies, it is now our duty to take care of beings, who are no longer competent to take care of themselves. It is the genius of our government to be humane; and cases have often occurred, in which it has voluntarily parted two nations, who would otherwise have exterminated each other. But the Indians seldom come within the sphere of its immediate influence. It is almost impossible to obtain true information, or disinterested advice; and the government is obliged to commit such affairs to its representatives, who do not always partake of its humanity.’

Our author professes to do no more, in the body of his volume, than glance at the summits of affairs—*sequari fastigia rerum*. We cannot refrain from complaining that he is too general, and we must be permitted to intimate that the title *Outline* of the History—would be more appropriate for his work than that of—*History* of the United States, &c. He has, indeed, presented a more connected view than is to be found elsewhere, of the settlement and progress of the several colonies; but the scene wants animation and dramatic interest, in the absence of particular traits and leading personages.

‘General facts,’ says Blair, ‘make a slight impression on the mind. It is by means of circumstances and particulars properly chosen, that a narration becomes interesting and affecting to the reader. These give life, body and colouring to the recital of facts, and enable us to behold them as present and passing before our eyes. It is this employment of circumstances, in narration, that is termed historical painting.’

It is not merely because the work is too summary, and deficient in picturesque, descriptive narration, that we consider this title as ambitious. ‘Gravity and dignity,’ remarks the same great teacher whom we have just quoted, ‘are essential characteristics of history. There must be no flippancy of style, no quaint or colloquial phrases; no smart sayings.’ Mr Sanford writes in a clear, forcible, and spirited manner; his turns of expression are often elegant, and, occasionally, very happy. He does not, however steadily maintain the elevation of language required for this branch of composition. We could adduce several instances of terms and forms of speech, which might bring his taste and judgment into disrepute, were it not evident from the context, that they are the effect of hurry and loose habits of authorship. To possess a great facility in writing or speaking is, perhaps, a misfortune, unless there be a constant endeavour after refinement and dignity. We have, in American literature, but few specimens of correct and finished diction—of ‘masterly and high execution:’—and this arises from the want not of capacity and tact, but of the leisure or resolution to select, ex-



punge, recast and polish. The style of Marshall in his introduction to the *Life of Washington*,—which embraces the subjects treated by Mr. Sanford,—is manly, nervous, and flowing, yet neither animated, graceful, nor graphic. The narrative of the Chief Justice is more copious than that of our author, though he has not combined so skilfully, nor unfolded in the same clear and distinct order the settlement of the several colonies. ‘Nothing,’ has it been justly said, ‘tries an historian’s abilities more, than so to lay his train beforehand, as to make us pass naturally and agreeably from one part of his subject to another; to employ no clumsy and awkward junctures; and to contrive ways and means of forming some union among transactions which seem to be most widely separated from one another.’

The first volume of Dr. Ramsay’s *United States* is devoted to what is styled ‘the Colonial Civil History,’ and comprehends almost every event and circumstance in any degree important or striking. Ramsay was accurate, impartial, and perspicuous; and this is his whole panegyric as respects the ‘Colonial Civil History,’ which falls far below his account of the revolution. His transitions are awkward, and the general distribution of his subject is slovenly; in his details he is prolix; sometimes even garrulous, not to say childish. Witness the following passages taken at random from his first volume. ‘The few settlers at James Town were the germe of the United States. The continent of North America was then one continued forest. There were no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or tame beasts of any kind; but a plenty of deer, moose, bears, elks, buffaloes, and a variety of other wild animals. There were no domestic poultry; but the woods were full of turkeys, partridges, pigeons and other birds. Wild geese, ducks, teal, and other water fowl abounded in the bays, creeks, rivers and ponds. There were no gardens, orchards, public roads, meadows, or cultivated fields. The food of the Indian was coarse and simple, without any kind of seasoning. They had neither spice, salt, bread, butter, cheese, nor milk. Their drink was water. They fed on the flesh and entrails of moose, deer, bears, beasts, and birds of all kinds; on fish, eels, and creeping things. Nothing came amiss. In the hunting and fishing seasons, they had venison, moose, fat bears, racoons, geese, turkeys, duck and fish of all kinds. In the summer, they had green corn, beans, squashes and the various fruits which the country naturally produced. In the winter they subsisted on corn, beans, fish, nuts, ground-nuts and acorns. The ground was both their seat and table. Trenchers, knives, forks, and napkins were unknown.’

‘Connecticut when first settled was a vast wilderness. In it were neither fields, gardens, public roads, nor cleared grounds; but much valuable timber, &c. The first settlers were strangers in the country, and knew not what kinds of grain would be most congenial with its soil. They had neither bread for themselves, nor the children; neither habitation nor convenient clothing,’ &c.

In taking some exceptions, as we have done, to the work of Mr. Sanford, we had an eye chiefly to the continuation in which, we trust, he is now engaged. He divides our history into three separate periods—Before the Revolution—During the Revolution—and Since the Revolution. The two last mentioned periods remain to be treated by him, and they call for the utmost pains, as well in ennobling and embellishing the style, as in collecting, arranging, and digesting the materials. He should be encouraged to proceed; but required at the same time, to task all his resources and powers, and to submit to the wholesome delay, which at his age,—with so much ardor of enterprise and facility of action,—it is by no means easy to bear. The lectures of Blair are in the library of every one, and on that very account, perhaps, not often recollected. It may be worth while to recall some part of what he exacts of the writer of history. ‘The historian must sustain the character of a wise man; writing for the instruction of posterity; one who has studied to inform himself well; who has pondered his subject with care, and addresses himself to the judgment. He must study to trace to their springs the actions and events which he records. He must have a thorough acquaintance with human nature and with government. We demand from him profound and instructive views of his subject. He should make us acquainted with the political constitution, the force, the revenues, the internal state of the country of which he writes, and with its interests and connexions in respect of foreign countries. He should place us on an elevated situation, whence we may have an extensive prospect of all the causes that co-operate to bring forward the events which are related. The historian must be completely master of his subject; he must see the whole at one view, and comprehend the chain and dependence of all its parts,’ &c. &c.

The present volume is, on the whole, a respectable performance in itself, and of much promise. It will instruct such as are not versed with the matters of which it treats, and will agreeably refresh the memory, and perhaps connect and enlarge the notions of those who have attended to the important and curious subject of our aborigines. Much more, certainly, remains to be done for our anti-revolutionary history, without a thorough knowledge of which, neither that of the revolution, nor our present national character and institutions can be properly understood. Of Mr. Sanford's compendious account, we prefer the penultimate chapter, and would have dispensed with the last, although it possesses much merit. The biographical notice of Washington properly belongs, in our opinion, to the second period. The notes are highly entertaining, judiciously placed, and of reasonable length. It is rare to find so excellent an index to any American book. We ought not to dismiss this book without giving some additional samples of the author's manner. The following *excerpta* may suffice.

‘It was during the protectorate, that the colony of Massachusetts saw its most prosperous days. Its exemption from all commercial



duties could not but cause it to grow rich: riches naturally introduced the refinements of more polished society; and among the other beneficial results, four hundred pounds were bestowed by the general court upon a public school at Newton, (now Cambridge,) so early as 1636. The endowment was soon after greatly increased by Mr. John Harvard; in 1642, the school was exalted to a college; and in 1650, obtained a charter of incorporation. For these, and for a variety of other acts, the colony is intitled to our warmest praise; though, at the same time, there was such a spirit of canting and intolerant bigotry in all they did, that our praise must be taken with many grains of qualification. Their conduct towards other sects appears the more unpardonable, because it was an apostacy from their former professions, and added impolicy to intolerance. They punished others for exercising those religious rights which they so strenuously asserted in the mother country; and were so weak as to suppose that new denominations of Christians might be kept down by the scourge and the gallows. The event proved how little they knew of human nature, and how little they had learnt from experience. The quakers grew under their auspices, and were established by their persecutions.

‘ Indeed, it is chiefly to religious intolerance that we must attribute the comparative rapidity with which New England was colonized. Its first planters were bigots and enthusiasts. Every individual was more or less occupied with religious topics; and as it was impossible that all should think alike, different persons frequently hit upon principles, or found authorities in scripture, which militated against the general doctrines of the sect. An attempt to suppress such principles, or to controvert these authorities, was considered as an infringement of that religious liberty, which they had all quitted their native country to enjoy. The disputant grew stubborn by opposition; was denounced as a heretic; and, gaining followers as a persecuted man, became the leader of a new sect, and like the parent colony, departed, to exercise freedom of conscience in another land. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were thus settled; and no sooner had they become somewhat numerous, than intolerance produced new sects, and new sects founded new settlements. Many of the towns in Connecticut were settled in this manner; and some could not have been settled in any other.

‘ Nothing but motives of religious enthusiasm could have induced these successive swarms to bear the hardships which they were compelled to undergo. Placed in the midst of the hostile aborigines, they durst not sow their fields, for they knew not that they should reap the harvest; and such were the famines which sometimes occurred, that they were reduced almost to a state of nature, and obliged to subsist upon acorns. The Indians were paid for their lands; but as soon as the purchase-money was gone, they violated their treaties; and knowing themselves to be the strongest party, continued to exact contributions, make and break treaties,

until the settlers grew powerful enough to defend themselves, and at last to extirpate their enemies. Sectarian fanaticism was able to keep up those settlements, which the mere hope of gain would never have continued; and it is worthy of remark, that though Virginia was founded more than a dozen years before New England, the population of the latter, in 1673, was three times as great as that of the former.

‘ Mr. William Burnet, the new governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had received express instructions from the king, to see that the general court settled upon him a fixed and certain salary. Soon after his arrival, the assembly voted seventeen hundred pounds for defraying the expenses of his voyage, and for supporting him in the discharge of his office. He said he could not assent to such a vote. They then voted for the first purpose, three hundred pounds; which were accepted; and for the last, fourteen hundred pounds; which were refused. The legislature asserted, that it was their privilege, as Englishmen, to raise and apply their own money; and, when the governor answered, that he would never accept such a grant as had been made, the council were for establishing a fixed salary,—but the representatives requested, that the court might rise. Mr. Burnet would not grant the request. It was again made; and again refused. The house then sent up a long message, in which they detailed their reasons for refusing to establish a fixed salary; and once more reiterated their wishes, that they “might not be kept sitting there,” to the manifest prejudice of their constituents. The governor answered them promptly enough; but not at all to their satisfaction; and, after resolving to adhere to their old method of appropriating monies, they drew up a statement of the controversy, and transmitted it to the several towns. Many spirited messages were exchanged in quick succession between his excellency and the house. The latter again repeated a request, that the court might rise: he told them, they could not expect to have their own wishes gratified, when they paid so little attention to those of his majesty; and the altercation was waxing so high, that the council thought it best to interfere,—and to propose, that some certain sum should be fixed upon, as a salary for the governor. The representatives voted three thousand pounds in their own money,—equal to about one thousand pounds sterling: but, as the act contained no provision for the continuance of the same sum, Mr. Burnet refused his assent; and, apprehending, that the house was somewhat influenced by the people of Boston, who had unanimously voted against a fixed salary, he adjourned the court to the town of Salem. At Salem it met, on the 30th of October, 1728. The battles of messages re-commenced as briskly as ever. The representatives appointed agents to plead their cause in England: the council would not concur in the act, because they had not been consulted; and the project must have failed for want of money, had not the people of Boston subscribed for the necessary sums. The agents soon transmitted a report of the board of



trade; in which the conduct of the house was entirely disapproved. They were told also, that unless *they* fixed a salary, the parliament would:—"It is better (they answered) that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves." Both parts of the administration went all this time without pay; for, as the representatives would vote no salaries, the governor would assent to no drafts upon the treasury. At length there was a recess between the 20th of December, 1728, and the 2d of April, 1729; when the court assembled at Salem; and after several fruitless meetings, were adjourned to Cambridge. They met there on the 21st of August; and a few days after, Mr. Burnet died of a fever at Boston.

'Mr. Belcher, his successor, came over in the beginning of August, 1730, with a fresh packet of instructions to insist upon a fixed salary. The king said it was the "last signification of the royal pleasure on this subject;" and he threatened to bring the whole history of the province before parliament, if it were not immediately complied with. The house voted one thousand pounds currency, to defray the charges of his excellency's voyage, and a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, to aid him in managing public affairs. The council added an amendment, to make the appropriation annual. The amendment was rejected. The council modified it, by confining the yearly allowance to the duration of Mr. Belcher's government. The representatives again refused their assent; and the resolution was dropped. The controversy continued for some time longer; but the governor was at length wearied out; and leave was, in the end, obtained of the king, to let the legislature take its own way in the regulation of his salary.'

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ART. V.—*Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania, &c.* By C. B. Johnson, M. D. Philadelphia, 1819.

THE author of this little work appears to be a sensible, honest, well-informed man, who writes with earnestness and candour, and not without a considerable degree of force and elegance. He is desirous of directing the attention of his countrymen to a settlement in a part of the United States, which he believes to be better adapted to their constitutions, and more favourable to their moral and pecuniary interests, than that which has been so agreeably, but fancifully, described by Mr. Birkbeck. With several others, whom the increased pressure of taxes and poor rates had driven from England, he arrived in Philadelphia, intending, as we suppose from his first letter, to proceed to the western states, with a view of fixing there his permanent residence. The unfavourable accounts, however, which he and his companions received from some of their countrymen, who had returned thence, after a journey of nearly three thousand miles by land, altered this resolution, and determined them to seek for a place of settlement on this side of the mountains. It was not long before an eligible situation was offered to

their notice, in the state of Pennsylvania, at a comparatively trifling distance from the two greatest cities of the United States, and which was represented to combine every advantage of soil, climate, and price, that could be desired by practical farmers. In consequence of this offer, a meeting of the emigrants was held, at which it was resolved, that a committee of their number should proceed immediately to the proposed place of settlement, for the purpose of making a personal examination of its situation. The committee was composed of Dr. Johnson and four others; and the work before us is the result of their inquiries and observations. It is apparently addressed to a friend in England; and seems more particularly intended for the information of emigrants from that kingdom; but a great part of it is important and interesting to our own countrymen, and our readers will probably be pleased with some account of its contents.

Susquehanna county, in which the new settlement of Britannia is located, is situated in the forty-second degree of north latitude, on the line which divides Pennsylvania from New-York; and is of an oblong form, being thirty-four miles in length, and twenty-four in breadth. The number of inhabitants is supposed to exceed ten thousand; most of whom have emigrated from the eastern states, and brought with them the industry, sobriety, and acuteness, so frequent in that quarter of the union. Montrose, the seat of justice, is in the centre of the county, one hundred and seventy miles from Philadelphia, and about one hundred and thirty from New York, by a turnpike not yet completed. With the practical farmer, one of the first considerations is, the proximity of the land to a market, at which his produce may find a ready and regular sale. In this respect, the local situation of the settlement in Susquehanna, is eminently advantageous. Its productions can be conveyed by a direct water-communication to Baltimore, and, when the proposed canals are completed, to Philadelphia; while the roads to the latter city and to New York are numerous and excellent; and the farmer finds in both a constant and increasing demand for his produce. The reproach of indifference to internal communication, so long urged against Pennsylvania, is now in a fair way of being removed; and from the spirit which seems to animate both the legislature and individuals, it may be confidently predicted, that she will before long be surpassed by no one State in the Union, in the extent and usefulness of her roads and canals. In the superior facilities for the sale of produce, consists one of the great advantages of this settlement over that of Mr. Birkbeck; of the value of which so much has been said. Value, however, is merely a relative term, and as far as regards the immediate profits of a cultivator of land, depends materially upon the price which he can obtain for his produce, and that which he is obliged to pay for the labour of raising it. A tract of land, therefore, however fertile or delightfully situated, may, in consequence of its distance from a market, be of less value than one comparatively less productive,



and for which the farmer pays a higher price, but in a different local situation. If Mr. Birkbeck can obtain, as he states, only seventy-five cents a bushel for wheat, and twenty-one cents for Indian corn, at his settlement in Illinois, while in Susquehanna county the former is sold for a dollar and a half, and the latter for a dollar, it is evident, that the advantages arising from the superior fertility of his soil, are greatly reduced. He must, in the one case, raise twice, and in the other, four times as much grain to the acre to compensate for the inferiority of price. But this is not the only disadvantage of a remote settlement, as regards the value of produce. With all the simplicity of a country life, men require in these days articles of clothing or consumption, which must be brought from foreign countries, or at least cannot be raised on their farms. The greater quantity of these they can purchase with their wheat or corn, the greater is the value of the latter, and consequently, with every mile of distance from the manufacturing or importing town, must the value of produce be diminished. 'The shopkeeper,' observes our author, 'who is at a great distance from the place where the articles he deals in are procured, will add to the price, when he disposes of them, the additional expense of bringing, and the time lost in procuring them. To him who is obliged to take a journey of a thousand miles, to procure the articles that are to fill his warehouse, the cost and trouble must be very great; and that cost and trouble he expects to be paid for by the consumer. The journey, which he is annually compelled to take, is a very serious one, compared to that of the shopkeeper of Susquehanna county, who can go to New York and back again in four days. The latter, in consequence of his situation, can trade with a smaller amount of capital than the former, because he can, at any time, procure a supply of those articles of which he is in immediate need; while the former can lay in a supply only once a year. All these difficulties are to be paid for by the farmers and mechanics, who consume the articles imported; and the difference to them in the course of a twelvemonth, by *receiving less for the articles they sell, and paying more for those which they purchase*, will be found to be very great.' Whatever, therefore, may be the case hereafter, when population shall increase on the Mississippi and Illinois, the present advantages of a settlement near the Atlantic cities, seem to be greater than those so far west as Mr. Birkbeck's. Climate is an important, it ought indeed to be a primary object with an emigrant. Dr. Franklin, when in England, is said to have replied to an inquiry, relative to the longevity of his countrymen, by observing that some of the first settlers were still living: and our author, on making a similar inquiry, in regard to Susquehanna county, was informed, that out of one hundred and forty heads of families, only one had died during the nine years which had elapsed since their settlement in it. This simple fact speaks more than the most laboured treatise, in favour of the salubrity of the climate: which is, however, further established by

its exemption from any endemical diseases; and the autumnal intermittents, so prevalent in the vallies of the western rivers, seem totally unknown here. 'In Susquehanna county,' says Dr. Johnson, 'nothing of the kind is found. I cannot learn of a single instance of fever and ague having occurred within it. I see no sallow sickly looking complexions. Every log hut abounds with children, whose brown faces indicate health and hardihood. This is a bad place, you will say, for my profession. I am very happy that it is so. I came to seek for land, and shall be more pleased to practise farming than phlebotomy.' Pure water, which contributes so much to health, abounds here. 'There is no farm and scarcely a field, without a stream or spring in it, of excellent water, and as clear as crystal.' 'There are no stagnant waters, no swamps, nor marshes, nor musquitoes, which abound so much in many other parts of the United States.' 'Indeed the aspect of the country gives promise of its healthiness:

The fountains fall, the rivers flow,  
The woody vallies, warm and low,  
The windy summit wild and high,

all so opposite to the stagnant waters and dead levels of the western 'prairies,' indicate the purity of its streams, and the salubrity of its air. Its exemption from musquitoes is indicated by its freedom from the 'green mantle of the standing pool,' so common in the western countries, whose musquitoes and frogs chase sleep from the eyes of many a weary traveller.' The character of the soil is not very minutely described by our author. We are merely told, that it is from one to four feet deep; and that the inferior stratum is composed of clay, and fine silicious sand, intimately commingled. But of its fertility, the usual crops are said to bear abundant proof, notwithstanding the loose and careless manner in which agriculture is managed. The oak, hemlock, beech, chesnut, silver-pine, and sugar-maple, abound here, and grow to a prodigious size. The extracting of sugar from the latter, is said to be a very profitable operation. We are told of one settler, who 'purchased a lot of eighty-four acres, and before he began his work of clearing, tapped a number of the sugar-maple trees on the lot, and the price of the sugar which he made in three weeks, amounted to two-thirds of the price he was to pay for the whole lot. This, you will observe, was done *before a tree had been cut down on the lot*, except what was necessary to boil the sugar.' Currants and other berries grow wild in the woods. Apples, pears, plums, and cherries, are said to thrive well. Salt has been found on one of the streams in this county, and it is supposed might be manufactured extensively and profitably. Iron ore is said to exist in the neighbourhood, and a species of coal, resembling the Welsh culm or Kilkenny coal, is found in great abundance near the southern boundary of the county. Game, of almost every description, requires only the trouble of killing. The finest haunches of venison are sold at two pence a pound. In Scotland, the apprentices



are said to have formerly stipulated, that they should not be fed on salmon oftener than twice a week; and a similar condition, in regard to venison, we believe, is required in some parts of Pennsylvania. Wild pigeons, which in Canada are excommunicated, are here killed and eaten. The price of lands, near this settlement, depends materially upon the ability of the purchaser to pay cash or otherwise. The society, by whom this undertaking was commenced, was offered a large body of lands, (forty thousand acres,) at the rate of four dollars an acre, one tenth part paid, the remainder in nine annual instalments, or three dollars fifty cents; one fifth paid, and the remainder in four annual instalments, or three dollars, payable within one year. Or, they were offered lots on the turnpikes, at five dollars an acre; one eighth payable within twelve months, and an eighth part annually afterwards; and lots back from the turnpikes at four dollars, payable in like manner. To the last proposal, they appear to have acceded. The profits of farming in this county must, of course, be considerable, when so small a sum is paid for the fee-simple of land. Dr. Johnson has entered into some calculations on this point which give a very satisfactory result. The cost of clearing land here, is estimated at twelve dollars an acre; and the sowing, harrowing, harvesting, and threshing, (for it seems they do not plough,) at ten dollars twenty-five cents; making the whole charge of the first crop, twenty-two dollars and twenty-five cents an acre. Fifteen bushels of wheat, therefore, to the acre, would pay all these expenses. But the average produce is twenty bushels, leaving the net gain of seven dollars and seventy-five cents an acre. The profit, however, is often much greater. We find one farm producing twenty-five bushels, and another thirty-three bushels of wheat to the acre; leaving a gain in the first case of fifteen dollars and twenty-five cents, and in the last, of twenty-seven dollars and twenty-five cents an acre. The improvement in the character and condition of the settlers is, of course, very rapid; but some of the instances mentioned by Dr. Johnson are truly wonderful, and could have occurred no where but in this happy and delightful land. 'A few days ago, two men came into Mr. Rose's office. He said to me "Here are two of my industrious settlers, ask them how they have made out." I did so. One of them had come into the country three years before; he brought with him about five hundred dollars worth of property; not money, but cattle, furniture, &c.; his farm of two hundred acres, which he has paid for by his industry, and his stock are now worth three thousand dollars. The other came into the country eight years ago; he brought with him property worth six hundred dollars; he has also paid for two hundred acres of land, and is now worth five thousand dollars. They had scarcely gone before a very decent looking man came on some business with Mr. Rose. After it was done, Mr. Rose said to him, "Squire Bosworth," for he had been a magistrate, "this gentleman is desirous of procuring all the information he can respecting this county; I believe

your circumstances are very comfortable; I presume you were worth but little when you came, and I know you have so much good sense as not to be ashamed of it; tell him how you have prospered here." "You say right;" replied the other, "I am not ashamed of having been poor, there is no disgrace in that, when poverty is not attended with bad conduct. I served sometime with a blacksmith before I came here. When I arrived, I had a knapsack on my back, with some clothes in it, and twenty-seven dollars in my pocket. I was industrious and moderately careful. I have lived very comfortably, and have never denied myself or my family any thing in reason. When my circumstances permitted it, I put others into my shop, and attended to my farm and other business. I do not know what my property is worth, but I believe I should not overrate it, to say ten or twelve thousand dollars." The rise in the value of land is equally astonishing. 'Mr. Rose sold one hundred acres of land, where Montrose now stands, for one hundred and fifty dollars; and the person to whom he sold it, before the time expired in which he was allowed to pay for it, sold half an acre of the same ground for five hundred dollars. This to be sure was a village, but farms rise in value astonishingly. One lot I saw, which Mr. Rose sold to a young man for one hundred and fifty dollars, and gave him several years to pay it in. The person who bought it, and who had little or no property, went to work, and by his industry, cleared a part, and built a log house and frame barn on it, and before he had paid any thing for it, sold it for two thousand dollars. I could mention many other instances of this kind, which are very common to those who are industrious and careful.' In another part of the work, the author enters into a calculation, for the purpose of proving that the rent, taxes, tithes, manure, and stock of a farm of one hundred acres of land, in England, will purchase the fee-simple of double the quantity of land in Susquehanna county, with one hundred acres of it cleared, and put the same stock upon it! The rent of the English farm is estimated at two hundred pounds, or eight hundred and eighty-nine dollars; all which is clear gain to the American farmers. Tithes, on a farm of one hundred acres, in England, amount to eighty-eight dollars; taxes and poor-rates to two hundred and twenty-two dollars. The first is unknown here; the only taxes paid in Susquehanna county, are the county and road tax; the first of which seldom exceeds one dollar on an hundred acres, and the last is paid by labour, and is so far from being considered a hardship, that 'in some townships the settlers have voluntarily doubled the amount of labour which the law permitted to be imposed upon them.' *There are no poor in this county.* The whole amount of poor-rates assessed on Mr. Rose, the largest proprietor in the county, during the nine years he resided in it, was six dollars and ninety-eight cents, and this was for the purpose of conveying home a person, not an inhabitant of the county. The price of labour here, we find, is from three-quarters of a dollar to a dollar a day.



A carpenter or mason gets from one dollar and a quarter to one dollar and three-quarters per day. For a dollar may be purchased twenty pounds of beef, or sixteen pounds of mutton or veal; or one bushel of rye or Indian corn, or two-thirds of a bushel of wheat; and thus three or four days' work will provide food for a month. The rent of a house, suitable for a labourer or mechanic, is estimated at twenty-four dollars a year. There are no houses, however, to rent; they must be built, and will cost about four hundred dollars. It is evident therefore that this country offers inducements to labourers, as well as to farmers and capitalists. The population of Susquehanna county is, as we have before observed, composed chiefly of emigrants from the eastern states. Their morality, and intelligence, are highly spoken of by our author, and have been praised by all who have had occasion to visit that quarter of Pennsylvania. Religion is yet without its regular professors in so new a country; but we are glad to find that different ideas on that subject are entertained from those which, we fear, will prevail in Mr. Birkbeck's settlement. 'It is customary for the settlers to assemble on Sundays; prayers are said by some one, with much apparent devotion; a hymn or psalm is sung in parts, for most of them have been taught psalmody, accompanied by instrumental music, as violoncellos, flutes, &c. a sermon from some approved divine is read;—and, I must say, that this simple family worship has effects upon me, as powerful as a discourse in a cathedral.'

If the picture given by Dr. Johnson be not overcharged, which we see no reason to think, we can conceive of nothing more delightful than a residence in this beautiful and fertile country. How much more in unison with the best feelings of our nature are its simple and honest enjoyments; the

*secura quies et nescia fallere vita,*

than the low traffic of business or the fever and vexation of political life! How much more conformable too, to the dignity and virtue of republicanism, are the pursuits of agriculture, the most pure and manly of human occupations, than the dependance upon others, the condescension to the follies and caprices of the great and wealthy, which in populous cities, are often necessary to pecuniary advancement. Indeed, with the attractions, as well as advantages, which many parts of our country offer to every class of the community, it is a matter of surprise, that so few of the great landholders, and of those who have received liberal educations, make it of choice their residence. Scarcely any part of England is without a resident gentry, who diffuse a taste for science and the liberal arts, and a general degree of refinement through the whole community. It is not that the natural charms of our scenery are inferior; for nothing can be purer than our sky, or more beautiful than our landscape. Nor should it be said that a residence in large cities offers greater opportunities for pecuniary and political advancement, for at least, in the present state of commerce, on which the liberal professions are necessarily

dependent, nothing can be more certain or lucrative than agriculture; and in the country, we conceive, men whose dispositions lead them to political life, find, at least, as much prospect of preferment as in cities. In Europe, where one great city, such as Paris, or London, gives the law to the rest of the nation, the aspirants for political distinction may find it to their interest to reside there; but it is otherwise in America. The great objection to a country residence here, is the want of such society as one meets with in cities. With the general improvement of the people, however, this objection must soon be considerably removed, and might be at once obviated by an union of several in the same place of settlement.

We recommend Dr. Johnson's work to the attention of our readers, and believe few will rise from the perusal of it without feeling an increased attachment to our country, and its republican institutions and manners.

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ART. VI.—1. *Observations on the Geology of the United States of America.* By William Maclure. Philadelphia, 1817. 8vo. pp. 127.

2. *An Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology.* By Parker Cleaveland, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Lecturer on Chemistry and Mineralogy, in Bowdoin College. Boston, 1816. 8vo. pp. 668.

[From the Edinburgh Review.]

**I**N a former number,\* we gave an account of a new Mineralogical Journal, published in America, by Dr. Bruce of New York. We hailed the appearance of this work as a proof of the attention that had been excited to this interesting branch of science, in a field so sure to yield an abundant harvest; and it was with regret that we learned, that a journal which promised so well at its outset, had very soon been discontinued.

We have now great pleasure in introducing to the notice of our readers, two very excellent publications, which abundantly prove that the study of mineralogy is pursued with no less eagerness and success in the United States, than it has been for some years past in most of the countries of Europe. There is not perhaps any department of science which, at the present time, merits a greater degree of attention in that great and prosperous country, from its various practical applications to some of the most important sources of national wealth and power; and the more especially that, from the limited researches already made, nature appears to have added, in abundance, some of her most valuable mineral productions to the other internal resources which she has lavished in that part of the world.

The geological part of Mr. Maclure's book was first published in the sixth volume of the *American Philosophical Transactions*; in the present edition there are some additions and corrections,

\* Vol. xvii. p. 114.



besides two new chapters, which the author informs us in his preface, are 'an attempt to apply geology to agriculture, in showing the probable effects the decomposition of the different classes of rocks may have on the nature and fertility of soils. It is the result of many observations made in Europe and America, and may perhaps be found more useful in the United States than in Europe, as more of the land is in a state of nature not yet changed by the industry of man.'

Mr. Maclure appears to be very thoroughly conversant with his subject, and to have studied with great attention the geological structure of a considerable part of Europe. He is a disciple of Werner; but we recognise him as such, more by the descriptive language he employs, than by his theoretical opinions. His general views are much more enlarged and philosophical, than is usually met with in the geologist of that school; and, like most of those who have had opportunities of extensive observation, he has found that the theory of the Freyberg professor is of a very limited application. The following remarks in his preface are a sufficient proof that his geological creed is not that of Werner.

'In all speculations on the origin, or agents that have produced the changes on this globe, it is probable that we ought to keep within the boundaries of the probable effects resulting from the regular operations of the great laws of nature, which our experience and observation have brought within the sphere of our knowledge. When we overleap those limits, and suppose a total change in nature's laws, we embark on the sea of uncertainty, where one conjecture is perhaps as probable as another; for none of them can have any support, or derive any authority from the practical facts wherewith our experience has brought us acquainted.'

While we acknowledge the valuable information which this little work conveys, we cannot bestow any praise on the manner in which the materials are put together. There is a great want of method and arrangement; for, although the author has laid down a very good plan, he has not adhered to it, but has mixed up one part of his subject with another, so as to cause considerable confusion; and, were it not for the accompanying coloured map, it would often be very difficult to comprehend his descriptions.

The *Elementary Treatise* of Mr. Cleaveland, is a work of considerable merit. He has derived his materials, as he informs us, chiefly from the works of Haüy, Brochant, Brongniart, Lucas, Kirwan, and Jameson; but he has adopted Brongniart as his model; and in doing so, we think he has followed the most judicious and most useful of all the mineralogical writers who have preceded him. We entirely concur in the following remarks on the treatise of Brongniart, by the author in his preface.

'Many of the writers of the French and German schools appear to have indulged an undue attachment to their favourite and peculiar system, and have hereby been prevented from receiving mutual benefit; the one being unwilling to adopt what is really ex-

cellent in the other. But it is believed, that the more valuable parts of the two systems may be incorporated, or, in other words, that the peculiar descriptive language of the one may, in a certain degree, be united to the accurate and scientific arrangement of the other. This union of descriptive language and scientific arrangement has been effected with good success by Brongniart, in his *System of Mineralogy*—an elementary work, which seems better adapted both to interest and instruct, than any which has hitherto appeared.'

Although this book is necessarily compiled, in a great degree, from the writings of others, it contains much valuable information respecting the mineral productions of the United States. It is to this part of the work that we shall confine our remarks; and we feel disposed, for the sake of our general readers, to dwell chiefly on the information Mr. Cleaveland conveys, respecting those mineral substances that are connected with the advancement of that active and enterprising people in wealth and political importance, rather than upon the rarer productions, which are only interesting to the mineralogist.

There is one merit of Mr. Cleaveland's book that ought not to pass unnoticed; we mean the form in which it is published. It is printed upon excellent paper, with a neat and perfectly distinct small type; and the same matter is contained in one volume, which in England, would have been scattered over the surface of three. We should be glad to see it reprinted exactly upon the plan of the original; and we have no doubt that it would be found the most useful work on mineralogy in our language.

Coal exists in several parts of the United States in great abundance. We have already spoken of the vast series of coal strata westward of the Alleghany range, and of an extensive coal formation near Richmond in Virginia. In Pennsylvania, it is found on the west branch of the Susquehannah; in various places west of that branch; also on the Juniata, and on the waters of the Alleghany, and Monongahela. In Connecticut, a coal formation, commencing at Newhaven, crosses Connecticut river at Middleton, and embracing a width of several miles on each side of the river, extends to some distance above Northampton, in Massachusetts. There are also indications of coal in the states of New York and New Jersey. In Rhode Island, anthracite is found, accompanied by argillaceous sand-stone, shale with vegetable impressions, &c. similar to the usual series of coal strata. The coal at Middleton, in Connecticut, is accompanied by a shale which is highly bituminous, and burns with a bright flame.

'It abounds with very distinct and perfect impressions of fish, sometimes a foot or two in length; the head, fins, and scales being perfectly distinguishable. A single specimen sometimes presents parts of three or four fish, lying in different directions, and between different layers. The fish are sometimes contorted, and almost doubled. Their colour, sometimes gray, is usually black; and the



fish and scales appear to be converted into coal. The same shale contains impressions of vegetables, sometimes converted into pyrites.'

Neither Mr. Cleaveland nor Mr. Maclure give us any information respecting the extent to which the coal has been wrought in any of the numerous places where it has been found, or the thickness of the seams. A scarcity of wood for fuel must be felt before coal will be sought after with much spirit; and there is probably still wanting in the United States that profusion of capital which can be risked in the uncertain operations of mining.

Iron is found in the United States in a great variety of forms, and is worked to a considerable extent. In the year 1810, there were five hundred and thirty furnaces, forges, and bloomeries, in the United States, sixty-nine of which were in the state of New York; and the iron manufactured at Ancram, New York, is said to be superior, for many purposes, to the Russian and Swedish iron. It is made from a hematitic brown oxide. Mr. Maclure informs us, that there is a bed of magnetic iron ore, from eight to twelve feet thick, wrought in Franconia, near the White Hills, New Hampshire; that there is a similar bed in the direction of the stratification, six miles north-east of Philipstown on the Hudson river; and, still following the direction of the stratification, that the same ore occupies a bed nearly of the same thickness at Ringwood, Mount Pleasant, and Suckusanny, in New Jersey; losing itself, as it approaches the end of the primitive ridge, near Blackwater—a range of nearly three hundred miles. This immense deposit of iron ore is contained in gneiss, and is accompanied by garnet, epidote, and hornblende. In the state of New York, magnetic iron ore is found in immense quantities on the west side of lake Champlain, in granite mountains. The ore is in beds, from one to twenty feet in thickness, and generally unmixed with foreign substances: large beds of this ore extend, with little interruption, from Canada to the neighbourhood of New York. Clay ironstone is met with in considerable quantities. In Maryland, there are extensive beds of it three miles S.W. of Baltimore, composed of nodules, formed by concentric layers. Bog iron ore occurs in such abundance in many places, as to be smelted to a great extent.

Copper in the native state, and most of its ores, have been found in different parts of the United States; but there are no mines of this metal except in New Jersey, and these do not appear to be worked with much success.

Lead has been discovered in a great variety of forms; and there are several extensive mines of it. In Upper Louisiana, at St. Genevieve, on the western bank of the Mississippi, there are about ten mines. The ore, which is a sulphuret, is found in detached masses of from one to five hundred pounds, in alluvial deposits of gravel and clay, immediately under the soil; and sometimes in veins or beds, in limestone. One of the mines produces annually about 245 tons of ore, yielding 66 2-3 per cent. There are mines also at Perkiomen, in Pennsylvania, 24 miles from Philadelphia.

The ore is chiefly a sulphuret; but it is accompanied by the carbonate, phosphate, and molybdate. In Massachusetts, there is a vein of galena, traversing primitive rocks, six or eight feet wide, and extending twenty miles from Montgomery to Hatfield. The ore affords from 50 to 60 per cent. of lead.

Gold has only been found in North Carolina. It occurs in grains or small masses, in alluvial earths, and chiefly in the gravelly beds of brooks, in the dry season; and one mass was found weighing 28 lib. In 1810, upwards of 1340 ounces of this gold, equal in value to 24,689 dollars, had been received at the mint of the United States.

Native silver, in small quantities, is met with at different places, but in no other form. Mercury and tin have not been found. Cobalt occurs near Middleton, in Connecticut; and a mine of it was at one time worked. Manganese and antimony are found in several situations. Sulphuret of zinc is found in considerable quantity in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. In New Jersey, a new variety of this metal has been discovered, in such abundance, that it promises to be a very valuable acquisition to the United States. It is a red oxide, composed, of zinc 76, oxygen 16, oxides of manganese and iron, 8. It is reduced without difficulty to the metallic state.

The chromate of iron, both crystallized and amorphous, occurs in different situations; particularly near Baltimore, and at Hoboken, in New Jersey. This mineral is employed to furnish the chromic acid, which, when united with the oxide of lead, forms chromate of lead—a very beautiful yellow pigment, of which there is a manufactory at Philadelphia. It is sold under the name of chromic yellow, and is employed for painting furniture, carriages, &c.

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ART. VII.—*Memoires et Correspondance de Madame D'Epinay*, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris 1818.

[From the Edinburgh Magazine.]

**G**REAT light has of late years been thrown upon the interior of that brilliant, but corrupt system of society and manners, which at one time, gave the tone of politeness and of literature to all Europe, and made Paris the grand centre of fashion and philosophy. In this country its fascination, indeed, was happily always looked upon with something more than suspicion, and under the external polish no slight flaws were observed to be lurking. We scarcely, however, were so uncharitable as to suppose that it was really so bad as it has turned out to be, and the additional information which every new publication gives us on the subject, only further increases our wonder at the degrees of vice and profligacy which may be concealed under the mask of liberality and elegance. This publication of the *Memoirs of madame D'Epinay* is, we are inclined to hope, the last of the kind that will appear; there is no need to darken the picture farther; and enough has been shown of a society totally loosened from all those principles of religion and



morality on which alone any society can firmly rest, to make us perfectly comprehend that such a state of things could not go on long, and that the horrors which we have witnessed, in our day, were its just and natural termination. We have seen enough, too, perhaps, of the distinguished men of that period. With all their genius and dazzling qualities, there is something melancholy in the spectacle. It is melancholy to see men of their powers, working like moles in the dark, and only adding to that chaos and perplexity which had so sadly bewildered their age and nation. Even their very gayety is melancholy,—resting, as it does, entirely on a careless epicureanism, and contrasting so awfully with the gloom of that misery and bloodshed which were so soon to ensue. The only circumstance which gives a relief to all this picture, is the genuine lightness and airiness of the French character. There is a sort of *naïveté* and childish simplicity in their very vices, which takes off a good deal from their atrocity. They think, say, and do all sorts of things possible that are bad, yet we have some how or other an impression, from the ease with which they carry it off, that they do not very well know what they are about. We do not, at least, blame the individuals, so much as the manners and circumstances of their age; and this, too, makes the picture less dangerous. It is so different from any thing we are ourselves accustomed to, and hangs upon such opposite principles, that it is little more apt to make an impression upon us, than the representation of the idolatry and vices of ancient times. French atheism, and French licentiousness, appear little less whimsical and extravagant to our soberer conceptions, than the worship or the debaucheries of the Greeks or Romans.

Madame D'Epinay is commemorated in the Confessions of Rousseau. She was one of the benefactors of that singular genius,—gave him a house called 'the Hermitage,' near her own chateau, where he composed his *Héloïse*, and some of his other most brilliant works; and like every other person who attempted to be kind to him, became, of course, an object of his jealousy and suspicion. He has blackened her memory as one of that knot of male and female philosophers, the whole object of whose life, it would seem, by his account of them, was to plot his destruction; and while they were probably never thinking of him, except with admiration or ridicule, he conceived that they were incessantly winding around him their malicious and inextricable snares. She has now given her own story, and not merely that part of it which relates to Rousseau, but her life from the very outset, which she has whimsically thought fit to exhibit in the form of a romance. It was found among the papers of Grimm, and originally gave false names to the characters which were introduced. The editor, whoever he is, has restored most of the names, at least all those of any persons of note, so that the book, as it is published, is a very entertaining supplement to what is already known of some of the most extraordinary individuals of those times. Whether or no she has

coloured over her own story, we do not know; we apprehend not; the incidents are certainly not such as would most naturally present themselves to a female writer, if she were writing merely for effect. In Fielding's *Amelia* there is a story of a Mrs. Bennet, which contains distresses similar to some of the most tragical in this book; but unless they had been true in the present instance, we scarcely think Madame D'Epinay would have fixed upon them as figuring incidents in her romance. She makes, indeed, the most of the *embarras* which they occasion, but not more than was likely to arise from them; she gives, too, perhaps, the best view that was possible of her own character; but this, we are also inclined to think, is fairly enough represented. It is a very natural character, that of an affectionate and well disposed woman, growing quite as incorrect as her neighbours, from *existing circumstances*. Had her husband been any thing but a shocking profligate, or at all inclined to retain her affections, there is no doubt he would have succeeded; or if such a woman had lived in England, even with a bad husband, the probability is, that she would have continued a very amiable and virtuous person. That unfortunate necessity, it is true, of having the void in *the heart* supplied, is apt at times, in all countries, to lead women astray; but it was a whim more peculiar to the French ladies than to any others, and appears, indeed, in Madame D'Epinay, to have been nothing but a whim, for she was quite capable of having her whole thoughts and affections interested in the care and education of her children. However, she took it into her head, very much by the persuasion of an impudent *she-dog*, to make use of Fielding's elegant periphrasis, whom she unfortunately had made her friend and confidante, that a lover was an indispensable requisite; and so, of course, a lover she must have. But we are writing on, we find, as if our readers were as well acquainted with the story as ourselves.

It is supposed to be narrated by a M. Lisieux, who, upon the death of the lady's father, an officer of the name of D'Esclavelles, became her tutor. Whether or no this gentleman is a fiction, like our excellent contemporaries, Jedediah Cleishbotham, and Mr. Peter Pattieson, we cannot pretend to say, but it is certain that he is quite of as little use in the narrative as either of these illustrious personages; and unless he can pretend, like the former (poor Peter Pattieson, we believe is dead), that he has acquired a *posle* or *pendicle* by the success of his work, we would be very much inclined to *chasser* him out of the concern. Be this as it may, however, he tells us that his young pupil, soon after her return from the convent in which she was educated, was married to her own cousin M. D'Epinay, son of a M. de Bellegarde, whose wife (her mother's sister) was dead, and in family with whom, her mother, Madame D'Esclavelles, seems to have lived. The youthful couple came likewise to reside with the good old folks, and for a time, who more kind than D'Epinay, and who a happier wife than Madame? However, the husband is a sad rake. He very soon stays



out all night, long after the poor lady has been in bed, and, to her infinite horror, she is not long in hearing rumours of opera girls, and such kind of elegant gallantries. M. Lisieux every now and then drops his narrative, and letters are introduced from the different characters concerned. At last, when the plot is thickening, and Madame D'Epinay, in consequence of her husband's desertion, is beginning to look about for some other resource, she begins a long journal addressed to her tutor, and in this form the greater part of the narrative is afterwards conveyed, although Jedediah is every now and then stepping in with a remark or connecting paragraph. What is given in the form of the letters and journal, is much the best part of the book, and is really very interesting, in spite of all its oddity and profligacy. Madame D'Epinay, is as we have said, an extremely well-meaning woman upon the whole; she is deeply in love with her husband, and long looks for his amendment; but the Mrs. Bennet adventure to which we alluded, and which was only the close of a series of brutal outrages, pretty well cures her of her attachment, and when, after accepting of a lover, she finds the results of that adventure extending to him, she is in such a fit of despair, that she is on the point of throwing herself out of a window, and is only prevented by the sudden bursting into the room of her little son. Before she gave up all hopes of her husband, she had a son and daughter, and it was most unfortunate that she did not at once dedicate her thoughts and care to them: however, we suppose, there is no resisting one's destiny. A Mademoiselle D'Ette became very intimate with her, a vile, worldly minded intriguer, and to her councils, aided by the delicate and persevering attentions of a M. Francueil, poor Madame falls a prey. She never separates from her husband, but is very little troubled with his company; and continues to live comfortably with her mother and father-in-law, who discover no secrets that she wishes to conceal, the mother a devotee, and M. Bellegarde a very good natured, but weak old gentleman, whose chief delight is to see her perform comedy, in which she makes a great figure. When she is finally arranged with her lover, her life for sometime flows along quite as calmly as if he had been her husband—she is much occupied with her children, her private theatre, and her numerous acquaintance, which began now to extend among the men of letters. Rousseau was a friend of M. Francueil, and used frequently to be at Epinay; it was in a piece of his composition, that Madame made her debut as an actress, and there is something very pointed, and well put in a short sketch, which she gives of him, as he appeared to her in the first hours of their acquaintance.

'We began our theatricals (she says) with *l'Engagement temeraire*, a new comedy of M. Rousseau, a friend of Francueil, who presented him to us. The author played a part in his own piece. Although it is only a comedy designed for private representation, *une comedie societé*, it has had a great success. I have my doubts,

however, how it would succeed on the stage; but it is certainly the work of a man of much power, perhaps of a very singular cast of mind. I am not very sure, at the same time, whether my judgment is formed on what I have seen of the author, or of his piece. He is given to compliment without being polished, or at least without having the air of being so. He seems ignorant of the usages of the world, but it is easy to see that he has an infinite deal of talent. He has a dark complexion; and eyes full of fire, animate his physiognomy. When he speaks, and you look at him, he seems handsome, but whenever you call him to your recollection, it is as being ugly. He is said to be in bad health, and to have sufferings which he carefully conceals, I know not from what principle of vanity; perhaps it is this which gives him, every now and then, a very savage look (*l'air farouche*).'

But the literary hero of the work, for a length of time, is Duclos, whom Madame D'Epinay first met at the house of a decayed actress, celebrated for her wit and intimacy with wits, of the name of Mademoiselle Quinault. The conversation which passed here, and which she minutely records, is of a very singular kind. It is a philosophical investigation into the nature and origin of modesty. Duclos, and M. St. Lambert, who are the chief speakers, see no reason why people should not go about naked; and are extremely eloquent on that bright idea, and several others of a concomitant class. The old harridan, in whose house they were, chuckles over the picture which they draw, with extreme satisfaction, although, before this talk began, she had the grace to send her niece out of the room, which seemed to be the signal for the commencement of the utmost freedom of discourse. The scene seems very exactly copied from memory, and it is certainly a most curious *trait* of manners, if conversation of this kind was at all admissible in the company of a woman like Madame D'Epinay, who at least maintained a good reputation in the world. She seems to have taken no offence at it; on the contrary, Duclos became immediately one of her chosen intimates. A most extraordinary monster, to be sure, he is. His affectation is that of extreme openness and plain speaking. Rapid, abrupt, even vulgar, in his diction and images; he is commonly saying acute things, sometimes things ridiculous for their vanity and egotism; but he can never be denied the merit of the most consummate impudence and effrontery. There is a scene in which he makes love to Madame D'Epinay, which is quite unique in its kind. After a great many inquiries about her husband, her connexions, her manner of passing her time, he comes up to her with open arms, and professes the greatest passion for her; she says that she can only look upon him as a friend. When he sees she is serious, 'then,' says he, 'you must have another lover?' He soon penetrates her secret. 'O very well, then the matter is at an end. I will never speak to you of love again in my life.' And then he goes on talking in his old way, and is quite on as intimate and familiar a footing with her as ever. There is



an excellent dialogue between him and a M. Linant, a pedant, who undertook the education of Madame D'Epinay's son. She had the good sense to suspect that the boy was quite losing his time, and carries Duclos with her to his college to examine his master. He attacks him in his blunt downright way, and very soon succeeds in showing him (for he happens to have less vanity than most pedagogues), that he is not at all up to his business.

"Very little of your Latin, sir," says he, "very little of your Latin, and don't talk to me of your Greek. Teach your pupil to read well,—to write well. Occupy him seriously with his own language. There is nothing more absurd than people passing all their lives in the study of foreign languages, and neglecting their own. You are not to make an Englishman of him, a Roman, an Egyptian, a Greek, a Spartan; he is born a Frenchman, then a Frenchman let him be; that is to say, a man who can turn his hand to any thing. Bring him to that point, and then it is Madame's office to lead him to some particular object. A little history, a little geography, but only conversing over a map; he is too young yet to make a serious job of it; teach him to count, sir, every thing turns on counting and calculations. In a little time carry him on to geometry; that, too, is a necessary science, every thing is subjected to measurement,—it is the best logic, and keeps the mind in the right road; a very important matter, for nothing will put it right if it has once gone wrong."

So much for Duclos, whose intimacy with Madame D'Epinay was not at all liked by her friends, because, under this appearance of freedom and openness, he was generally regarded as a man of no morals, and as a dangerous and designing character. There is a great peculiarity in his manner, a wonderful contrast, for instance, to Rousseau's, yet he is a fair specimen of a Parisian philosopher; and there is, indeed, a common character of thought running through all that class of men, which sufficiently marks them. Their most valuable quality (even Rousseau has a great deal of it), is shrewd practical sense, and a rapid judgment of what is reasonable within the narrow limits which they prescribe for the objects of human choice. They have no 'thoughts that wander through eternity;' their whole views are confined to the world as it lies before them; they leave out of their consideration, therefore, a great many of the most powerful affections and aspirings of the human mind; but they had ransacked and examined, backwards and forwards every thing within 'this visible diurnal sphere,' and the result is often, amidst all their paradoxes, their licentiousness, and their fearlessness, a very strong and sagacious hold of truth as far as they go. We have not time to dilate upon this; we are certainly no cordial admirers of these worthies, but we believe there was never yet any class of acute observers of human life, who have not done some good in their day, although the bad may unfortunately, in this instance, have greatly predominated. There is one advan-

tage, however, that the good will remain, while the bad will pass away.

Madame D'Epinay's lover does not, as might be expected, continue to retain all his original ardour. She grows jealous, and at last, in a fit of dissatisfaction with the world, thinks of devoting herself to God. Her mother brings to her a very excellent spiritual guide, the abbe Martin, who gives her a great deal of good and sensible advice.

“I am disgusted with the world,” she says; “If I could venture, if my children could dispense with me, I would go into a convent, and make a vow never to leave it.” “For my part, Madam,” said the priest, “I have no great notion of such extremes, and put very little confidence in these hasty conversions. They have little solidity in them, and the relapses are always troublesome. True devotion, Madam, and the disposition of mind most agreeable to God, is to turn to the best possible account the situation in which providence has placed us. A married woman, a mother of a family, is not intended to be a Carmelite, and cannot live as such.”

He goes on in the same strain, till at last he brings her to confess that her unhappiness arises from the coldness of her lover.

“I am not surprised, Madam,” said the abbe, “that this circumstance has occasioned your projects of reform, but I have less confidence than ever in their solidity. My advice is, that you should endeavour, by virtuous recreations, to calm the violent and contradictory emotions which despair has produced in you. If you wish that the repentance of your errors should be agreeable to God, it must, in the first place, be sincere; and it can only be in a state of calm, that you and I can form any sound judgment of your dispositions. In your present state I will not permit you so much as to approach the sacraments. I see more pique than remorse in your expressions. Occupy yourself, first of all, Madam, with the real duties of your station; form the plan of a new life; the care of Madame your mother, the education of your children, continual watchfulness over the interests of your husband—these are the points where your reform ought to begin, and then if, in some years afterwards, you persist in the desire of attaining to the perfection of the devout life, I shall have the honour of seeing you again.”

We must stop at present with this advice of the good abbe, which we are disposed to recommend to the consideration of such of our fair readers as, without Madame D'Epinay's offences upon their conscience, have become still more eager, perhaps, than ever she could be, to give themselves up entirely to devotion. We wish they were always within reach of as sound a counsellor as the abbe Martin.



ART. VIII.—*The Sacred Edict*; containing Sixteen Maxims of the Emperor Kang He, amplified by his son the Emperor Yoong Ching; together with a Paraphrase on the whole, by a Mandarin. Translated from the Chinese original, and illustrated with Notes. By the Rev. William Milne, Protestant Missionary at Malacca. 8vo.

[From the Literary Panorama.]

THE Chinese are an extraordinary people, and though their indefatigable historian, Du Halde, has done much towards making known their political and civil history, religion and literature; yet, until the present time, their moral and religious writings have, in a great degree, been as 'sealed books' to Europeans. Sir George Staunton first communicated the penal code of China in an English dress, and the learned and pious author of this work has conferred an additional favour on literature in his translation of the 'Sacred Edict.'

The Sixteen Maxims which form the ground work of this book, were delivered, in an edict, by the emperor Kang He, the second of the present dynasty, towards the close of his life. Their nature, and the mode in which they are promulgated to the people, are thus stated by Mr. Milne.

'These maxims, each of which, in the original, contains seven characters or words, were neatly written out on small slips of wood, and placed in the public offices, where they are to be seen at the present day.

'The emperor *Yoong Ching*, the son and successor of *Kang He*, wisely considering that the conciseness of these maxims would necessarily prevent their general utility, wrote an *Amplification* of them, which he published in the second year of his reign; and ordered it to be read publicly to the people, on the first and fifteenth of each month.

'The style of *Yoong Ching's* publication, though not so concise as that of the ancient Chinese books, is yet considered classical, but, from its artificial structure and the length of the paragraphs or periods, it is above the capacities of most of those who have had but a common education. Hence, though classically written, the work was not calculated to produce all the benefit intended; in as much as the lower classes of people, even in countries the most enlightened, both by religion and science, do not generally profit by books of high classic taste. Under the influence of this conviction, *Wang-yew-po*, superintendent of the salt revenue in the province of *Shen See*, wrote a paraphrase on the whole book and simplified the style. By numerous proverbs, quaint sayings, colloquial phrases, and provincialisms, he rendered the sense easy, and the style acceptable to the people; for in every country we find, that these qualities, though not approved by the learned, take much with others, and have a certain point and force which would,

in some measure be lost, were the same ideas expressed in a more elegant and finished style.

'The practice of publicly explaining the laws to the people of China, commenced in the dynasty of *Chou*; at which time, part of the first day of the month only was devoted to that purpose. At present the law is read, or should be read, twice a month, viz. on the first and fifteenth. The manner of it is as follows.—Early on the first and fifteenth of every moon, the civil and military officers, dressed in their uniform, meet in a clean, spacious, public hall. The superintendant, who is called *Lee-Sang*, calls aloud, "stand forth in files." They do so, according to their rank: he then says, "kneel thrice, and bow the head nine times." They kneel, and bow to the ground, with their faces towards a platform, on which is placed a board with the emperor's name. He next calls aloud "rise and retire." They rise, and all go to a hall, or kind of chapel, where the law is usually read; and where the military and people are assembled, standing round in silence.

'The *Lee-Sang* then says, "respectfully commence." The *Sze-kiang-Sang*, or orator, advancing towards an incense altar, kneels; reverently takes up the board on which the maxim appointed for the day is written, and ascends a stage with it. An old man receives the board, and puts it down on the stage, fronting the people. Then, commanding silence with a wooden rattle which he carries in his hand, he kneels and reads it. When he has finished, the *Lee-Sang* calls out, "Explain such a section, or maxim, of the sacred edict." The orator stands up, and gives the sense. In reading and expounding other parts of the law, the same forms are also observed.'

The moral doctrines and precepts here taught are those of the school of Confucius, or of the sect of the learned. The philosophers of this sect, since the days of Choo-foo-tsze and Ching-tsze, (in the twelfth century) who paraphrased most of the ancient books, have, according to Mr. Milne, degenerated from the simple philosophy of their master, to the extreme of scepticism; after ridiculing the idea of a created Deity, yet unable to give clear and definite views of the uncreated; professing great regard for truth, yet coolly doubting of almost every thing; and, like their ancient Grecian brethren, exposing the absurdity of idolatry, yet serving the scene and joining in it. The morality of the Sacred Edict is valuable as far as it goes; but it is certainly very defective, and is generally enforced by motives drawn from no higher source than self love or self interest. In short

'It is a mere *political* morality, founded on no just view of man's relation to his Great Creator. As for the final destinies of man, it scarcely recognizes them; and certainly does not profess to make them an object. Political government is its *ne plus ultra*: the centre in which all its lines meet, and the circle beyond which they do not extend. Wherever it commences there it is sure to end. To compare this philosophy, and this morality, with those of the



Gospel of Jesus, would be like placing the dim taper in competition with the meridian sun.'

The subjects discussed in this curious specimen of Chinese morality are, The Duties of Children and Brothers,—Respect for Kindred—Concord among Neighbours—Importance of Husbandry—the Value of Economy—Academical Learning—False Religion exposed—On the Knowledge of the Laws—Illustrations of the principles of Good Breeding—Importance of attending to the essential Occupations—The Instruction of Youth—The Evil of False Accusing—The consequences of Hiding Deserters—The payment of the Taxes—The necessity of extirpating Robbery and Theft, and the Importance of Settling Animosities.

We shall extract the first Maxim, with its Amplification, and an extract from the paraphrase on it, as a specimen of Chinese morality.

'MAXIM FIRST.—Pay just regard to filial and fraternal duties, in order to give due importance to the relations of life.

'AMPLIFICATION.—Our sacred father, the benevolent emperor, reigned sixty-one years; imitated his ancestors; honoured his parents; his filial piety was inexhaustible. He commented on the *Heaou-king*; explained the text; clearly unfolded the doctrines. His precise design was, by filial piety, to govern the empire; hence the Sacred Edict commences with filial and fraternal duties. Intrusted with his mighty concerns, and reflecting on past admonitions, we\* have diffusely explained the sense of his instructions; and now commence by proclaiming the doctrines of filial and fraternal duty to you, soldiers and people.

Filial piety is [founded on] the unalterable statutes of heaven, the corresponding operations of earth, and the common obligations of all people. Have those who are void of filial piety never reflected on the natural affections of parents to their children?

Before leaving the parental bosom, if hungry, you could not feed yourselves; if cold, you could not put on clothes. Parents judge by the voice, and examine the features of their children; their smiles create joy; their weeping grief. On beginning to walk they leave not their steps; when sick, attempts to sleep or eat are in vain; thus nourishing and teaching them. When they come to years they give them wives, and settle them in business, exhausting their minds by planning, and their strength by labour. Parental virtue is truly great and exhaustless as that of heaven!

'The son of man that would recompense one in ten thousand of the favours of his parents, should at home exhaust his whole heart, abroad exert his whole strength. Watch over his person, practise

\* *We*, the original word *Chin* does not properly signify the first person plural of the personal pronoun; it is a pronoun used by the emperor alone when speaking of himself in the singular; were any other person to use it, he would subject himself to punishment. But not knowing any synonymous English word of the singular number, the first person plural, used in a *courtly* style, seemed the best; and *Chin* is rendered by it throughout this translation.

economy, diligently labour for, and dutifully nourish them. Let him not gamble, drink, quarrel, or privately hoard up riches for his own family! Though his external manners may not be perfect, yet there should be abundant sincerity! Let us enlarge a little here: as for example, what *Tsang-tsze* says "to move unbecomingly is unfilial; to serve the prince without fidelity, is unfilial; to act disrespectfully as a mandarin, is unfilial; to be insincere to a friend, is unfilial; to be cowardly in battle, is also unfilial." These things are all comprehended in the duty of an obedient son.

'Again, the father's eldest son is stiled viceroy of the family; and the younger brothers [after the father's death] give him the honourable appellation of family superior.

'Daily, in going out and coming in, whether in small or great affairs, the younger branches of the family must ask his permission. In eating and drinking they must give him the preference; in conversation yield to him; in walking, keep a little behind him; in sitting and standing, take the lower place. These are illustrative of the duty of younger brothers. Even a stranger, ten years older than myself, I would serve as an elder brother; if one, five years older, I would walk with my shoulders a little behind his; how much more then ought I to act thus towards him who is of the same blood with myself! Therefore, undutifulness to parents and unbrotherly conduct are intimately connected. To serve parents and elder brothers are things equally important. The dutiful child will also be the affectionate brother; the dutiful child and affectionate brother will, in the country, be a worthy member of the community; in the camp, a faithful and bold soldier. You, soldiers and people, know that children should act filially, and brothers fraternally; but we are anxious lest the thing, becoming common to you, should not be examined, and you thus trespass the bounds of the human relations. If you can feel genuine remorse, springing from an upright heart, then exert your whole strength; from one filial and fraternal thought, proceed by gradations, till every thought be of the same stamp. Do not affect mere empty externals. Do not overlook the minutiae. Do not buy fame and purchase flattery. Be not diligent at first and slothful afterwards. Then, probably, the duties of filial piety and brotherly affection may be attended to. For the undutiful and unbrotherly, the nation has a common punishment; but punishment can restrain only those evils, the traces of which become manifest; what is done in secret is not cognizable by law. Should you be void of remorse, and throw yourselves into contempt, our heart could not endure it. Therefore warnings are often repeated. Perhaps\* you, soldiers and people, will realize our wish, renovate and exalt your character; and each carry to the utmost, the duties of children and brothers. How lovely the virtue of the sages, which arose from

\* 'Perhaps,' this mode of expression is very common among the Chinese. They seldom affirm or deny, dogmatically, but prefer to express themselves in a way which they think indicates greater modesty and self-diffidence.



the human relations! Even the doctrines of *Taou* and *Shun*, extended not beyond filial and fraternal duty! *Mung-tsze* said, "were all dutiful to their parents, and respectful to their elder brothers, under heaven there would be rest." Soldiers and people! do not view this as a mere common place address.'

[Contains six hundred and thirty-two words.\*]

*Extract from the Paraphrase on the above.*

'Let us first take the doctrines of filial piety and fraternal affection, and discourse of them in the hearing of all you people. Well, what then is filial piety? It is great indeed! In heaven above, in earth below, and among men placed between, there is not one that excludes this doctrine. Well, how is this proved? Because filial piety is the breath of harmony. Observe the heavens and the earth! If they did not harmonise,† how could they produce and nourish so great multitudes of creatures? If man do not practise filial piety, he loses [his resemblance to] the harmony of nature—how then can he be accounted man?

'Let us now take the ardent affection of the heart, and the yearnings of the bowels of your parents towards you, and enlarge on them a little—When you hung in their tender embrace, were you hungry? You yourselves knew not to eat food.—Were you cold? You yourself knew not to put on clothes. Your aged father and mother observed the features of your face, and listened to the sound of your voice. Did you smile? They were delighted. Did you weep? They were unhappy. Did you begin to walk? They followed at your heels, step by step. If you had the least degree of illness, then their sorrow was inexpressible. Tea was not tea; rice was not rice to them.‡ They waited [with anxiety] till you recovered: then their minds were composed. Their eyes were intent on you, watching your growth from year to year. You have no conception of how many anxious toils they bore, and of how

\* In works of great moment, the Chinese frequently number the characters. Many of them have a veneration for the words of their language, equal to what the Jews are said to have had for the Hebrew letters. Hence they never use any paper on which their characters are written or printed, as waste paper, or for common purposes.

† The nature of the harmony here alluded to, is not easily understood. The idea is founded on the theories of the Chinese concerning the system of the universe, and the laws of nature. Their notions on these subjects are extremely obscure and unsatisfactory. They ascribe personality to the visible heavens and the earth; and suppose that, in the production of creatures, there is a certain *conjunction* of the heavens and the earth, somewhat analagous to that which takes place in the generation of animals. Hence it is often said, 'heaven and earth are the parents of all things;' and 'heaven is the father, and earth the mother, of all things;' and 'heaven covers and earth produces.' With respect to this *conjunction*, the *Lee-kee* says, 'in the first month of the spring, the celestial air descends, and the terrestrial air ascends; then a *junction* of the heavens and the earth takes place, by which nature is set in motion and caused to vegetate.' Probably they may mean by these expressions, certain laws inherent in the physical universe, by which the proportions of cold and heat, rain and wind, &c. &c. are so regulated, as to produce all things in their proper time, and due quantity.

‡ That is they did not relish them, or know the taste.

many painful apprehensions they endured, in nourishing and in educating you. When you grew up to manhood, they gave you a wife to bear you a son. They waited in expectation, that your learning should raise you to fame. They strove to lay by a little property to enable you to set up in life. Now, which of all these things, did not require the heart of a father and mother? Can this kindness be ever fully rewarded? If you are not aware of the kindness of your parents, you have only to consider for a moment the heartfelt tenderness with which you treat your own children, and then you will know. The ancients said well, "bring up a child, then you will know the kindness of a father and mother." But if you indeed know the kindness of your parents, why do you not go and exercise filial piety towards them? For filial piety is not a thing difficult to practise. In ancient times, in order to display filial affection, some slept on the ice, some cut the thigh, and one buried her own child.\* This kind of service it would be difficult to imitate; nor is it necessary thus to act, in order that it may be denominated filial piety. It only requires the heart and thoughts placed on your parents; then, all will be well. If you really would recompense their kindness, you must leave nothing undone that your powers can accomplish for the comfort and service of the aged. Better that you yourself should have little to eat and to use, and have sufficiently to give them to eat and to use; and [thus] lessen their toils. You must not gamble, nor drink wine; you must not go and fight with persons; you must not privately hoard up money for yourself, or love your own wife and children, and overlook your father and mother. What if your external motions should not exactly accord, that will by no means impede the business: internal sincerity alone is required; then you will be successful. Suppose [for example] you can give them only daily coarse vegetables and dry rice; yet cause them to eat these with pleasure:—this then is filial piety and obedience.

We shall, therefore, take this principle and extend its application to other things. Thus, [to give a few instances] if in your

\* This refers to three persons who, it is said, remarkably distinguished themselves in the discharge of filial duty. 'One slept on the ice,' in order to catch a certain fish which his mother, when sick, longed to eat. Another cut out a portion of flesh from his own thigh, to mix the blood with the medicine which was to be administered to his mother; under an idea that it would prove an effectual cure, provided she knew not of it. It is said that there are some in China at the present day, who, when their parents are sick, go out into the fields at mid-day, worship towards heaven, and cut either the arm or thigh, to mix a little of their own blood in their parent's medicine. 'A third, buried her child.' The story says, that this woman was very poor, had an only child, and an aged mother, whose teeth were decayed and came out, so that she could eat nothing, but sucked the breasts of her daughter along with her child. This dutiful daughter, not being able to hire a nurse, and not having milk sufficient to nourish both, was reduced to the necessity of parting either with her mother or child. She resolved on the latter: and, while digging a grave, in which to bury the child alive, she found under ground, a certain quantity of gold, which heaven had deposited there as a reward for her filial piety. Thus she was enabled to provide both for her mother and child.



conduct, you be not correct and regular, this is throwing contempt upon your own bodies, which were handed down to you from your parents: this is not filial piety. When doing business for the government, if you do not exhaust your ideas, and exert your strength; or if, in serving the prince, you be unfaithful, this is just the same as treating your parents ill:—this is not filial piety. In the situation of an officer of government, if you do not act well, but provoke the people to scoff and rail; this is lightly to esteem the substance handed down to you from your parents:—this is not filial piety. When associating with friends, if, in speech or behaviour you be insincere; this casts disgrace on your parents:—this is not filial piety. If you, soldiers, when the army goes out to battle, will not valiantly and sternly strive to advance; but give persons occasion to laugh at your cowardice; this is to degrade the progeny of your parents:—this also is not filial piety. In the present age there are very many disobedient children. If their parents speak a word to them, they instantly put on a surly face; if their parents scold them, they perty answer again—if called to the east, they go to the west. Again, there are some whose wives and children are warmly clothed and fully fed, while on the other hand, their parents are empty and suffer hunger. They rush into misery, and embarrass and disgrace their parents. They themselves transgress the law, and their parents are involved, and brought before the magistrate.\*

‘It is needless to say that the laws of superior powers will not tolerate this description of persons; but their own children, beholding their example, will follow closely at their heels imitating them. Only observe those who have themselves been undutiful and disobedient; where did they ever bring up a good child? Do think a little—will you still not be aroused?’

The nature of the subject must be our apology for the length of the preceding extract.

In preparing this very curious treatise for the press, Mr. Milne professes to have aimed only at fidelity; we have heard that he has attained this in an eminent degree; and he has illustrated his original authors with many important and explanatory notes. Altogether it is a most singular work, and justly claims a place in the library of every one who delights in studying the history of man.

\* ‘*Their parents are involved,*’ &c. This arises from the peculiar feature of the Chinese polity, viz. that of making persons mutually responsible for each other’s conduct; and of extending the consequences of a man’s transgression to his neighbours; especially to his relatives. Hence the law says, ‘whosoever shall plan sedition or rebellion, whether put into actual execution or not, shall all of them, without distinguishing the accessories from the principals, be cut in pieces. The father and grandfather of the *principals*, their sons and grandsons, their brothers, and all who dwell under the same roof, without distinction of sir name—their uncles and nephews, whether dwelling with them or not; the males among them, from sixteen years old and upwards, not excepting the blind, lame, or decrepit, shall all be beheaded. Males belonging to them under fifteen years of age, their mothers, daughters, wives, concubines, and sisters; together with the wives

ART. IX.—*Original Letters, from an American Gentleman at Calcutta, to a friend in Pennsylvania.*

LETTER I.

*Non cuivis homini contingit adire Calcuttam!*

*Calcutta, March 4th.*

MY DEAR H.

**A** GREEABLY to my promise, I embrace the first opportunity which has presented, to give you some intelligence of your wandering friend. During the whole of our tedious passage we did not speak a single vessel that was bound to America. On our arrival here, however, we found a ship on the eve of sailing for Philadelphia; and I have accordingly taken my seat, to endeavour to convey to you some idea of the novelties, and remarkable occurrences, to be witnessed in an East India voyage. We left New Castle, as you know, on the 9th of October last; and on the 13th of the same month, being favoured with a fine N.W. breeze, we got under way from Port Penn, where we had been laying since the 9th, and stood down the bay in company with a considerable fleet of merchantmen. About noon we dismissed the pilot, and lunched forth into the seemingly boundless expanse of the western ocean. The awful sublimity of the scene before us, at once so novel and so grand, combined with the view of the receding shores of my beloved country, awakened emotions in my breast which I should vainly attempt to describe.

But I will not detain you with the narration of circumstances which have been the theme of every enthusiastic voyager, and are common to *all* who commit themselves to the bosom of the deep. I shall merely notice, in the order of their occurrence, those events of the voyage which I shall believe calculated to gratify the curiosity, or excite an interest in the breast of my friend. It would afford you but small amusement, to enter into the details of the navigation of the ship,—as you are too much of a landsman to be interested by such particulars: neither is it worth while to attempt your edification, by a history of the intolerable sea-sickness with which I was annoyed, for a number of days, after losing sight of land. But as you have a taste for philosophical inquiry, I will just observe that I am now entirely satisfied of the correctness of Dr. Darwin's theory of this disagreeable affection: for, when my attention was strongly occupied by any object in the ship, or when I kept my eyes shut, I was always considerably relieved of the vertigo and nausea.

and concubines of their sons, shall all be delivered over to the most meritorious officers of state, be domestic slaves, and their whole property confiscated to government.' Vide *Leu-lee*. Canton edition.

May it not be, in a great degree, owing to this singularly severe feature of the Chinese law, that their government has continued for so many ages unchanged, as to the radical principles and great lines of it? The principle is carried through the whole of their government, and applied to small offences as well as to those that are great.



We had not been long at sea, before I had an opportunity of witnessing that curious phenomenon, of which you have often heard—I mean the *luminous appearance* of the water at night. This appearance is not constant; but seems to depend on a certain condition of the atmosphere:—at least, I have always observed that the light was by far the most brilliant when the air was damp, and somewhat foggy,—or what, in common language, is denominated dull and ‘*heavy weather*.’ The light appears only where the water is ruffled or agitated: of course, it is most conspicuous at the bow, and along the sides of the ship. When the weather was such as favoured this appearance, the ruffled waves exhibited a brilliant, greenish light; and the water, which was agitated by the progress of the ship, was so luminous, that she seemed to be floating in liquid fire. It shed a silvery radiance upon the sails and rigging, almost equal to that of moonlight. I had some of the sparkling water dipped up, and examined it. I found the light was emitted from innumerable, small, whitish specks of glutinous looking matter, diffused through the water; and which appeared to me to be entirely inanimate—but whether really so, I could not absolutely determine.

After having been four weeks on the ocean, and nothing but *marine objects* having greeted our view in all that time, I was agreeably surprised, on the 11th of November, to see a number of barn swallows (*Hirundo rustica*) skimming in playful circles round the ship. You know it has been a famous question among naturalists, whether these birds migrate southwardly during the winter, or not. Some gentlemen, whose faith seems to have been very accommodating, have given credence, and currency, to a number of strange stories about their hibernating in ponds and rubbish, and emerging again, on the return of summer, to mount the air on flippant wing, and cheer the husbandman with their agreeable twittering. For my own part, I did not require this evidence of their ability to seek for better winter quarters than mud and mire;—but still the fact may not be unimportant. Our situation, when the swallows approached us, was in latitude  $6^{\circ} 30'$  north, and longitude  $20^{\circ}$  west of the meridian of Greenwich. They appeared to skim around us with the same vigour and vivacity which characterizes them, when among our sheds and pastures. In the evening, they settled very sociably about the channels, and other parts of the ship,—and next day took their final leave of us.—We crossed the equator without having old Neptune brought on board, or any of the fresh-water part of the crew, being subjected to the customary tonsorian operation. Our respectable captain very properly considered the custom as ‘more honoured in the breach than in the observance;’ and refused his sanction to the performance of that vulgar and outrageous ceremony. On the 27th of November, we passed within sight of a pile of immense rocks, called *Martin vaz*, or *Trinidad*, which elevate themselves in the air to an incredible height. They were at a great distance, and appeared like

black clouds in the horizon; as I afterwards found all high lands did,—except that their outlines were better defined, and more fixed, than those of clouds. Having lost sight of those rocks, we continued to traverse the dreary waste of waters, uncheered, by even a glimpse of land, until the 7th of February, when we made the high mountains on the west coast of *Sumatra*. They appeared of a dark blue colour, and rose to an immense height in the clouds—in fact, they left a number of clouds hanging half way down their sides,—and forcibly reminded me of the beautiful lines of *Goldsmith*—

‘As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,  
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,  
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,  
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.’

This appears to be literally the case with these mountains.—Next day we entered the limits of the bay of Bengal, which stretch from *Acheen head* to the southernmost part of the *island of Ceylon*,—and passed to the westward, though within sight of the *Nicobar*, and some other small islands. Being out of season, as it is termed, in our voyage, we had the monsoon against us; but we got soundings on the night of the 18th of February,—and next morning saw the coast of *Orixa*, distant about ten or twelve miles. The sea-water, where the bottom cannot be found, is of a deep blue, or rather black colour; but when we got on soundings it changed to a fine green. After some delay in cruising off the sound heads for a pilot, we had the satisfaction finally to obtain one; and on the 26th of February, we entered the muddy waters of the far-famed Ganges. We continued to beat up the river, whenever the tide suited, until we reached our destined harbour; where we anchored yesterday morning, after a passage of twenty weeks, from the capes of the Delaware.—I would willingly give you a description of the scenery on the shores of this celebrated river, as it appeared to me on our passage up it, but indeed, I am too much bewildered with the innumerable novelties, which surround me on all sides, to attempt it in this letter. Every thing which meets the eye in this wonderful city is so different from what we are accustomed to in our own country, that I am absolutely lost in the stupor of amazement. The contrast in the country, the people, the dress (if dress it may be called), the manners, the *tout ensemble*, could hardly be more striking, or the effect more imposing, if we had been translated to another planet.

But it shall be the business of another letter, when I shall have had time to observe, and convince myself that what I behold is sober reality, to depict to you the scenes which surround me. I am sensible that my efforts, on the occasion, must be feeble and inadequate; but to the charge of inadequacy shall not be justly added that of the traveller’s reputed foible—

‘Multum mentitur qui multum vidit.’

I shall take care to relate nothing but what my own senses shall investigate; and nothing but what you may safely receive without



harbouring a supposition injurious to the veracity of your friend. And now,

‘from the orient to the drooping west,

I transmit my most affectionate regards, and beg you to believe me, as ever, yours, &c.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. X.—*Notoria; or Miscellaneous Articles, &c.*

ARABIAN MANNERS.

*From Paddock's Narrative of his Captivity among the Arabs.*

As our situation was comfortable in comparison to the suffering condition we had lately been in, we now could be more cheerful, and had opportunities to look about us, and make our observations upon things. At night we had about half as much boiled barley meal as we needed, and we slept sound all the night. From the moment of the shipwreck to the present instant, from nothing we had taken as food or drink, did we ever experience any harm or inconvenience. That very pond-water, though as foul as the water of a mud-gutter, and even worse, sat well on our stomachs, as also did the raw barley taken afterwards. And I can say for myself, I never had an unpleasant dream during the whole time I was with those cruel monsters.

On the 16th, in the morning, our former masters appeared to be making some preparations for moving off; they were situated a few rods south of us. I, with Laura, walked over to them, to intercede once more for our two black companions, and I assured Ahamed, who was with them, that if these men were of any more value to their masters than the rest of us, the surplus of their value our consul would pay for them. He answered plainly, that he did not believe me. While we were engaged in this conversation, we were sitting on the ground, and my old master coming to me, ordered me to haul off my coat, which he claimed as his own, saying he was once in possession of it, and had only lent it to me. I refused to give it up. Ahamed then said it was his, and they disputed it warmly for a few minutes, my old master alleging that he sold him the carcass only, and that all the clothes upon it belonged to himself, while Ahamed, on his part, claimed the clothes as an appendage to the body.

At last the fellow said he would have the clothes or my life, and at that moment he sprung upon me, got hold of my coat, hauled it over my head, dragged me a few paces, and drawing his dagger, he swore by his own beard, and by the prophet, that he would take away my life. Laura, understanding all that he said, begged me to give up my coat, or he would kill me. My mates also were much alarmed on my account, and entreated me to give it up; but I persisted in my refusal. Upon my looking up, I saw that fellow and Ahamed standing face to face, prepared for a battle about my coat; the fellow's anger was wrought up to so high a pitch, that he foamed horribly at the mouth. I was sensible of danger, yet hoped to save both my life and the coat. At last Ahamed fell upon his knees, and kissed the feet of his antagonist; upon which Laura cried out to me, ‘It is all over; you are safe!’ Laura informed me afterwards, that whenever a superior humbles himself so low to an inferior as to kiss his feet, his demand or request is always granted. This matter thus settled, the seven mountaineers took all their luggage, and the black men, and walked off south-eastward. The poor negroes wept bitterly, and, for our part, we were sorely afflicted with the parting:—we never saw them more.

We now returned to our lodgings, where we got some boiled meal. George's master, it seemed, was willing he should be with us very often, and Laura's master turned him over to our mess; he was owner of Jack also, but the little two-sided Jack was not willing to keep our company so constantly. He and Laura had been in the habit of quarrelling together, and I prevailed on Laura to make friends with him, as we might profit from it; Jack having a considerably perfect knowledge of the Arabic, he could, if he would, inform us

from time to time of the intentions of the Arabs we were with. In consequence of this advice of mine they got on better terms, but were never so friendly together as I wished.

Being now much encouraged in regard to obtaining our ransom, and fast recruiting, we had spirits, as well as leisure, to make our observations upon the strange beings we were amongst. I found out by the boys, that the place we were in was as far west as the Arab shepherds could ever find pasture for their flocks, and also as far south, as it was on the edge of the desert. I also was informed, by the same means, that they had been only a few days here when we first came among them. The number of their tents, according to the best of my remembrance, was ninety-seven, averaging about eight persons to a tent, and thus making the whole population of the tribe amount to seven hundred and seventy-six. This, the boys told me, was the largest tribe they ever had met with, although the natives frequently talked of a thousand in each large tribe, and five hundred in the small ones. Among the tribe we were in there was a variety of colours, from a light copper colour to a complexion very dark, and almost black; but their features were still the same, sharp nosed, and raw boned. The average weight of these Arabs would very little exceed one hundred pounds each, and their average height was about five feet nine or ten inches. They were so much in the habit of sitting or squatting upon the calf of the leg, that that part was of a more considerable size than the rest of their bodies. The women, however, showed a much better leg, as well as arm, than the men; they, generally, were but little more than four feet high; their breasts were monstrously large, and their immodest exposure of them was, to us, the more disgusting, on account of the continual abusiveness we experienced from them. Their inhumanity to us may be partly accounted for, however, from the degraded condition in which they were held by their husbands.

The barley which we found growing was such as had sprung up spontaneously, and in some places were seen patches of wild oats; the grass thereabouts was very scarce. On account of this scarcity of feed, the boys expected

that we should soon remove further eastward for the sake of finding pasture for their flocks, which were very large. To this tribe belonged thirty camels, fifty fine horses, and a thousand sheep and goats; the chief being the greatest proprietor in the stock. At night, when the flocks are brought in, it is singular to see how entirely tamed they all are. The women milk first the camels and then come forward the sheep and lambs; each parcel of sheep stop at the tent they belong to, before which is a long rope, hauled tight, each end of it being fastened to a stake in the ground. In the rope, at suitable distances, are placed becketts with small lines; the lambs come of their own accord to the rope, when the woman of the tent separately fastens each lamb to its becket, and drives away, at a little distance, the sheep, which all lie down; the lambs also lie down, and remain so till morning, when the woman milks the sheep, and releases the lambs, and all are driven off together. In the course of the day the lambs suck all the milk which their dams give. As to the camels, they are milked night and morning; the young camel, if a young one there is, being prevented, to the utmost of the keeper's power, from sucking.

All this milk of different kinds, is poured together into a sack, that is, the skin of a goat curiously taken off. When a sufficient quantity is collected for churning, say half a skin full, the woman blows the skin up tight with her breath, like a bladder, and ties it up, each end of it fast, with a small string; it is then fastened to the ridge of the tent; and while thus suspended, one of them, most commonly a child, stands and shakes it violently, till the woman, judging from the time of its agitation, thinks the milk sufficiently churned; the skin is then taken down, and the butter-milk poured off, leaving the butter adhering to the skin; the hole being large enough for the arm to enter, she, with her fingers claws it out, appearing about the colour of her arms, and puts it into a bowl. This finishes the process of their butter-making; it is never worked over nor salted, nor did I ever know of the skin being washed or cleansed. Having given the process and the colour of the butter, I will leave my readers to judge of the smell and the taste.



Their water is kept in the same kind of skin, for family use. When a call is made for water, the woman pours out from the skin a quantity into a small bowl, and whatever is left after the person or persons have done drinking, she carefully pours back again. The smell of the water is not, however, so offensive as that of the butter, nor of quite so dark a colour. Any one may form a pretty clear idea of its qualities, from the filthiness of the vessel it is kept in. The water of this country is bad, I mean such as is obtained by these wandering tribes in a dry season. At the time we came amongst this tribe, the English boys informed us there had not fallen a drop of rain in more than two months; that, with the exception of some small bunches of green barley, what little food their flocks could collect, was dry grass, of but very little nourishment; but notwithstanding this, the sheep and horses were in excellent plight; though the camels appeared lean, and some of them were sickly.

*Arabian Wedding.*—On the 18th, in the morning, there appeared an uncommon stir in the tribe. The horses were brought up, and rigged out in great style; all was glee, male and female running from tent to tent; our English boys were in as great surprise as ourselves. For the sake of information, Laura and George went after Jack, who of course was knowing to the cause of this great muster. Jack was not to be found then, but soon after the little villain came, and informed us there was to be a wedding that day: this quieted our minds. Upon this time he and Laura fell into familiar discourse between themselves as follows.

*Jack.* You, Laura, know Afdalla, that fellow that murdered his wife about two weeks ago.

*Laura.* O yes, I remember all about it.

*Jack.* Well, he is going to marry that short, thick, yellow girl, that lives in that tent there; you know who I mean.

*Laura.* O yes, I know her.

This conversation between the two boys, excited in me a curiosity to know the story of that murder, and Laura related it to me. ‘About two weeks ago,’ said Laura, to me, ‘this fellow went into his tent, and asked his wife where his knife was. She told him she had lent

it to such a one, naming a man belonging to the tribe. Do you not know, he said, that you have no business to meddle with any thing belonging to me? She acknowledged she had not; that she was sorry if it had displeased him, and would go immediately and fetch the knife back. He made no other reply to her than by saying, I will see if I can’t have a wife who will obey my commands better; I always told you not to meddle with any thing of mine. Having a club in his hand, he struck her upon the breast; she fell, and he continued to maul her as long as there was any breath in her body. Neither man nor woman went near them, although her cries and screams were heard through the whole tribe. That evening,’ continued Laura, ‘we went to the funeral, and observed what was done there. The women measured her length, her breadth across her arms, and her whole thickness, with as much exactness as they could, and then they dug a grave to fit her, digging it no deeper than the measure of her breadth, and put her in sideways, all naked; then, the women standing upon the body, trode it down with their feet, till the upper part of it was just level with the surface of the earth; after which, they all fell to gathering stones to cover the body with, so as to prevent its being removed by the wild beasts.’

I asked Laura what followed in regard to the murderer. The account he gave me was this: ‘The next day after the murder was committed, the chief assembled all the principal men of the tribe to examine into the case. The murderer was called before the council, and heard in his own defence; he voluntarily related the facts as they were, and was then dismissed for a few minutes. Upon this, the chief, who always speaks first in such cases, gave his opinion. “Afdallah,” says Ahamed to his counsellors, “has not acted agreeably to the law; he should first have complained to me of the disobedience of his wife, and if she should persist therein, he would then have been at liberty to punish her according to his pleasure. For breaking the law in not making his complaint beforehand to me, he is worthy of punishment; wherefore, my sentence is, that he be fined four sheep, seeing his flock is small, and that those sheep be dressed for our supper to-

night." Laura added, 'the murderer was sent for, his sentence was pronounced, and he, without uttering a word, had his flock brought up, killed the four sheep, and the company ate them—and we, you know,' added he, addressing himself to Jack, 'got the heads.' After Laura had gone through with his story, I desired him to look out for the bride and bridegroom. He went to the place where the tribe was assembled, a few rods south of our tent, where he found the women preparing the bride for her nuptials: and soon after they all made their appearance. We then walked towards the crowd, taking a circuit round their rear, full as nigh them as it was prudent for us to approach. The couple stopped, fronting a man who officiated in the capacity of a priest; he read over to them a passage engraven on a board, taken originally from the Alcoran, and joined their hands, using a ceremony of words that we could not distinctly hear, but which pronounced them husband and wife. A tent had been previously prepared by the bridegroom; on it was displayed a white flag or fly; he took his bride, who had been blindfolded by the priest with a piece of cloth tied over her eyes, led her to his tent, set her down on a mat, and said to her, 'You are at home.' Then he left her, and returned to the place where the ceremony was performed, and had a white cloth, in the form of a turban, tied round his head; after which he joined with the company, in their singing, shouting, and firing of guns; most of the company taking part in this merriment. When night came, the whole company went to his tent, but none of them entered it, not even himself; instead of which, they formed in a circle in the front of it, where was prepared a great feast, consisting of boiled meal and milk, along with several sheep, cooked and eaten without spice or salt. Their feasting continued till after midnight, when the company having retired, the bridegroom visits his spouse, takes off her blind, shows himself to her by the light of the fire, to satisfy her that there is no mistake as to the identity of his person, and then blinds her again, and retires. She continues in this condition of utter darkness for the term of one week. During the whole of this week, after the first day, all the women that choose it visit

her; one of their number is appointed to cook the victuals, and perform all the other domestic duties, until the spouse is brought out to the light of day, when she beholds, as her husband, a capricious vagabond, and a bloody monster, for the least deviation from whose mandate she is liable to suffer death. Assuredly the American fair will not envy her happiness!

The next day after this marriage the horses were all brought up again, and there was exhibited the master piece of horsemanship that I ever saw. There were about forty of those animals, the most beautiful that can be described, of full size, the most part gray, some either sorrel or bay, all in a state of nature, their saddles of the Arabian make, and superior to all others, (being so high before and behind, and so well secured by strong girths, that the rider is never in danger of falling off,) the bridles of such a construction as brings the horse under so complete command, that the rider can either stop him instantly or break his jaw, the stirrups after the European kind. They mounted their horses thus equipped, formed themselves into platoons, each man with his musket in his hand. And now their feat begins; from before the tent of the bridegroom they start off on a gallop, holding the bridle in the left hand, and their musket between the thumb and the two fore fingers of the right; by the power of these fingers and the thumb, the musket is so swiftly whirled round that a spectator would be at a loss to determine whether it were a gun, a staff or whatever else. While the horses are in full gallop, on the word *stop*, which is so instantly and simultaneously obeyed, that it is not uncommon for the horse and his rider to be down in the sand together,—at the word *stop*, each of the horsemen throws up his gun into the air, and catching it again in such a manner that his thumb and the fore finger are upon the trigger, he fires it off in the air, and all their guns, thus fired together, make but one report. This dexterous feat I beheld with astonishment; it really seemed too much for any of the human kind, with the aid of brutes, to perform. Our English boys told me that this kind of amusement was very common there.

In the first stage of the exhibition that has now been related, one man



was down together with his horse; the stirrups were so short that one of his legs was clear of the horse, which, by means of his spurring him with one foot, arose with the rider. The fellow, appearing much mortified at the accident returned to the tent, and rode round the several tents, apparently angry with his poor beast, which, as we thought, was not at all to blame. The boys said they never knew of a man dismounting in a case of this kind; that if he did so he would be considered by his companions as unworthy of an equal rank with them, and of course would fall into disgrace. They kept it up riding and firing in this way for more than half an hour. Their poor horses fared hard, so deep did their spurs cut their sides, as to make the blood flow pretty copiously. The weather being very hot, the sweat ran down their legs, and at the same time these sons of Ishmael showed some signs of uncommon warmth themselves. At length their horses were unrigged, and sent out to feed in this dry and barren ground, where only in small patches could be found even so much as dry grass; after all, they were not very lean of flesh.

After the horses were gone, a horse shoe was picked up, which upon examining it, I found different from any thing of the kind I had ever seen. I can give no better description of it than the following one. Set the horse's foot upon a plate of thick sheet-iron, upon which draw a mark round the hoof, cut the iron to the mark, punch in it small nail holes near the edge and cut out from the middle a round piece, about the size of an English shilling—and then you will have an Arabian horse shoe. These people, that is to say, the wild Arabs, keep their horses shod only when they are about going a long journey over rocky mountains.

Soon after they had recovered from the fatigue of riding, they betook themselves to another of their amusements, which was firing at a mark; the mark was a feather, stuck on a heap of sand, and raised above its level about two feet; their distance about forty yards. So expert were they, that three out of four hit the feather with a single ball. This and their other amusements, such as singing, leaping, and so forth, finished the day. During this time we peeped into the tent, and saw the recently

married fair one sitting on a mat, blindfold, and much engaged in conversation with a dozen, or more, of these miserable wretches of her sex. *Ib.*

—  
CHARACTER OF THE LATE SAMUEL  
DEXTER OF BOSTON.

*From a charge delivered to the grand jury at Boston, by judge Story of the United States supreme court.*

In his person Mr. Dexter was tall and well formed, of strong well defined features, and bold muscular proportions. His manners were at a first interview reserved and retiring; and this was sometimes mistaken by a careless observer for austerity or pride. But this impression vanished on a farther acquaintance; and it was soon perceived, that though he made no effort to court popularity, he was frank, manly and accessible; and at the bar conciliatory and respectful. His countenance was uncommonly striking; and yet perhaps scarcely gave at once the character of his mind. Unless awakened by strong interests his features relaxed into a repose, which betrayed little of his intellectual grandeur. In such situations his eyes had a tranquil mildness, which seemed better suited to an habitual indolence of temperament, than to fervid thoughts. Yet a curious observer might read in his face the traces of a contemplative mind, sometimes lost in reveries, and sometimes devoted to the most intense abstractions of metaphysics. When roused into action, his features assumed a new aspect. A steady stream of light emanated from his eyes, the muscles of his face swelled with emotion, and a slight flush chafed his pallid cheeks. His enunciation was remarkably slow, distinct, and musical; though the intonations of his voice were sometimes too monotonous. His language was plain, but pure and well selected; and, though his mind was stored with poetic images, he rarely indulged himself in ornaments of any kind. If a rhetorical illustration, or striking metaphor, sometimes adorned his speeches, they seemed the spontaneous burst of his genius, produced without effort, and dismissed without regret. They might indeed be compared to those spots of beautiful verdure, which are scattered here and there in Alpine regions amidst the dazzling whiteness of surrounding snows. In the

exordiums of his speeches he was rarely happy. It seemed the first exercise of a mind struggling to break its slumbers, or to control the torrent of its thoughts. As he advanced, he became collected, forcible and argumentative; and his perorations were uniformly grand and impressive. They were often felt when they could not be followed.

Such was the general character of his delivery. But it would be a great mistake to suppose, because his principal favourite was ratiocination, that his delivery was cold, tame, or uninteresting. I am persuaded, that nature had given him uncommon strength of passions. The natural characteristics of his mind were fervour and force; and, left to the mere workings of his own genius, he would have been impetuous and vehement. But he seemed early to have assumed the mastery of his mind; to have checked its vivid movements by habitual discipline; and bound his passions in the adamant chains of logic and reasoning. The dismissal of the graces of fancy and of picturesque description were with him a matter of choice, and not of necessity. He resigned them, as Hercules resigned pleasure, not because he was insensible of its charms, but because he was more enamoured of wisdom. Yet, as if to show his native powers, he has sometimes let loose the enthusiasm of his genius, and touched with a master's hand every chord of the passions, and alternately astonished, delighted, and melted his hearers. Something of the same effect has been produced, by, what may be fitly termed, the moral sublimity of his reasoning. He opened his arguments in a progressive order, erecting each successive position upon some other, whose solid mass he had already established on an immovable foundation, till at last the superstructure seemed, by its height and ponderous proportions, to bid defiance to the assaults of human ingenuity. I am aware, that these expressions may be deemed the exaggerations of fancy, but I only describe, what I have felt on my own mind; and I gather from others, that I have not been singular in my feelings.

It would be invidious to compare Mr. Dexter with other illustrious men of our country, either living or dead. In general acquirements he was unques-

tionably inferior to many; and even in professional science he could scarcely be considered, as very profound, or very learned. He had a disinclination to the pages of black-lettered law, which he sometimes censured as the scholastic refinements of monkish ages; and even for the common branches of technical science, the doctrines of special pleading, and the niceties of feudal tenures, he professed to feel little of love or reverence. His delight was to expatiate in the elements of jurisprudence, and to analyze and combine the great principles of equity and reason, which distinguish the branches of maritime law. In commercial causes, therefore, he shone with peculiar advantage. His comprehensive mind was familiar with all the leading distinctions of this portion of law; and he marked out with wonderful sagacity and promptitude, the almost evanescent boundaries, which sometimes separate its principles. Indeed it may be truly said of him, that he could walk a narrow isthmus between opposing doctrines, where no man dared to follow him. The law of prize and of nations were also adapted to his faculties; and no one, who heard him upon these topics, but was compelled to confess, that if he was not always convincing, he was always ingenious; and that when he attempted to shake a settled rule, though he might be wrong upon authority and practice, he was rarely wrong upon the principles of international justice.

In short there have been men more thoroughly imbued with all the fine tinctures of classic taste; men of more playful and cultivated imaginations; of more deep and accurate research, and of more various and finished learning. But if the capacity to examine a question by the most comprehensive analysis; to subject all its relations to the test of the most subtle logic; and to exhibit them in perfect transparency to the minds of others:—If the capacity to detect, with an unerring judgment, the weak points of an argument, and to strip off every veil from sophistry or error:—If the capacity to seize, as it were by intuition, the learning and arguments of others, and instantaneously to fashion them to his own purposes:—If I say, these constitute some of the highest prerogatives of genius, it will be difficult to find many rivals; or superiors to



**Mr. Dexter.** In the sifting and comparison of evidence, and in moulding its heterogeneous materials into one consistent mass, the bar and the bench have pronounced him almost inimitable.

His eloquence was altogether of an original cast. It had not the magnificent colouring of Burke, or the impetuous flow of Chatham. It moved along in majestic simplicity, like a mighty stream, quickening and fertilizing every thing in its course. He persuaded without seeming to use the arts of persuasion; and convinced without condescending to solicit conviction. No man was ever more exempt from finesse or cunning in addressing a jury. He disdained the little arts of sophistry or popular appeal. It was in his judgment something more degrading than the sight of Achilles playing with a lady's distaff. It was surrendering the integrity as well as honour, of the bar. His conduct afforded, in these particulars, an excellent example for young counsellors, which it would be well for them to imitate, even though they should follow in his path with unequal footsteps.

His studies were not altogether of a professional nature. He devoted much time to the evidences and doctrines of christianity; and his faith in its truths was fixed after the most elaborate inquiries. That he was most catholic and liberal in his views, is known to us all; but, except to his intimate friends, it is little known, how solicitous he was to sustain the credibility of the christian system; and how ingenuous and able were his expositions of its doctrines.

As a statesman, it is impossible to regard his enlightened policy and principles without reverence. He had no foreign partialities, or prejudices to indulge, or gratify. All his affections centered in his country; all his wishes were for its glory, independence, and prosperity. The steady friend of the constitution of the United States, he was, in the purest and most appropriate sense of the terms, a patriot and a republican. He considered the union of the States as the pole-star of our liberties; and whatever might be his opinion of any measures, he never breathed a doubt to shake public or private confidence in the excellence of the constitution itself. When others sunk into despondency at the gloomy aspect of public affairs, and seemed al-

most ready to resign their belief in republican institutions, he remained their inflexible advocate. He was neither dismayed by the intemperance of parties, nor by the indiscretion of rulers. He believed in the redeeming power of a free constitution; and that, though the people might sometimes be deceived, to their intelligence and virtue we might safely trust to equalize all the eccentricities and perturbations of the political system. He had the singular fortune, at different times, to be the favourite of different parties, occupying in each the same elevation. It is not my purpose to examine, or vindicate his conduct in either of these situations. I feel indeed, that I am already treading upon ashes thinly strewn over living embers. The present is not the time for an impartial estimate of his political conduct. That duty belongs, and may be safely left, to posterity. Without pretending to anticipate their award, we may with some confidence affirm, that the fame of Mr. Dexter has little to fear from the most rigid scrutiny. While he lived, he might be claimed with pride by any party; but now that he is dead, he belongs to his country.

To conclude,—Mr. Dexter was a man of such rare endowments, that in whatever age or nation he had lived, he would have been in the first rank of professional eminence. It is unfortunate, that he has left no written record of himself. The only monument of his fame rests in the frail recollections of memory, and can reach future ages only through the indistinctness of tradition or history. His glowing thoughts, his brilliant periods, and his profound reasonings, have perished for ever. They have passed away like a dream or a shadow. He is gathered to his fathers; and his lips are closed in the silence of death.

I rejoice to have lived in the same age with him; and to have been permitted to hear his eloquence, and to be instructed by his wisdom. I mourn that my country has lost a patriot without fear or reproach. The glory, that has settled on his tomb will not be easily obscured; and if it shall grow dim in the lapse of time, I trust, that some faithful historian will preserve the character of his mind in pages, that can perish only with the language, in which it is written.

## THE BOY AND THE BUTTERFLY.

*Translated from the French. By Mrs. Lamont.*

'Twas in a garden sweet and gay,  
A beauteous boy rov'd with delight;  
Before him, in a rich display,  
Of colours, glittering in the ray,  
A butterfly attracts his sight.

From flower to flower the fickle thing  
In many a sportive ringlet flies,  
And seems so lovely on the wing,  
No weariness the chase can bring,  
Though vainly the pursuit he tries.

Now on a pink in balmy rest,  
He strives to make the prize his own;  
Now on a rose's fragrant breast,  
He thinks its flight he shall arrest,  
But, lo! again the wanton's flown.

And still the chase no toil can bring,  
Though vainly the pursuit he tries;  
So tempting seems the lovely thing,  
Thus seen at distance on the wing,  
Still glittering in his ardent eyes.

And now his hopes to tantalize,  
Behold it on a myrtle near!  
Next on a violet bank it lies—  
He steals, and with his hat he tries  
To cover the gay flutterer here.

But all in vain each art and wile  
To catch the beauteous playful thing;  
Yet still he disregards his toil,  
Its beauties still his pains beguile,  
Thus seen before him on the wing.

At last the flutterer he espies,  
Half buried in a tulip's bell,  
He grasps the flower in glad surprise—  
Within his grasp the insect dies;—  
His vain regrets, his tears now tell.

Thus Pleasure, that gay butterfly,  
In prospect cheers the mind;  
But if too eagerly we clasp,  
It perishes within our grasp,  
And leaves a sting behind. *Lit. Pan.*

## ON BLINDNESS.

*By J. W. Pfeil, a blind boy aged 16 years.*

In vain for me the solar ray;  
In vain for me the meadow gay  
In vain fair flowerets blow;  
In vain for me the liberal hand  
Of Nature decks the smiling land,  
And bids the landscape glow:

In vain the volume's pleasing page,  
With history, or precepts sage,  
Or sweet amusement fraught,  
Solicits my inquiring view,  
And spreads its beauties ever new,  
Which erst I eager sought!

Alas! those pleasures all are o'er;  
Those beauties I behold no more;  
No more my sightless eye  
O'er Pindus' flow'ry mount can stray,  
The sweets of Nature can survey:—  
I turn aside and sigh!

I hear the voice of pleasure sound;  
I hear the dance's sportive round;  
No sound of joy to me!  
While festive forms around me flit,  
Alone in pensive mode I sit,  
Debarr'd festivity.

In vain the Park, the Ball, the Play,  
For me their various charms display:—  
Oh! ye to whom the light  
Its thousand joys delight supplies,  
Ye little know how high to prize  
The blessedness of sight! *Ib.*

## THE DEVIL'S BRIDGE.

*By the same.*

WHEN Satan escap'd from the furnace below,  
And a bridge had been thrown  
To our world from his own,\*  
On which his infernals might come and might  
go—  
How various and vast are the devilish crew;  
Which deserting in haste  
Their fierce fiery waste,  
Sat out with intention our globe to review.  
But distant was Earth from their hellish  
abode;  
So we can't feel amaze  
At some trifling delays,  
That some of the devils were long on the road.  
Fell Envy, and Anger, the first of the train,  
Set their foot on the land  
Which soon felt their command,  
And blood stain'd the hand of the fratricide  
Cain.  
This couple of Devils long worried our Sires;  
But some more of the throng  
Paid a visit ere long  
And every bosom inflamed with their fires!  
But when further victims could no where be  
found,  
When the Earth was o'erflowing,  
And dry land was all gone,  
They took to their heels, that they might not  
be drown'd.  
But soon they return'd, when the flood clear'd  
away;  
And Ambition we hear  
First arriv'd in our sphere,  
And Nimrod the Hunter sought men for his  
prey.  
Soon Cruelty follow'd, and Avarice, and  
Pride—  
Imps of every name  
In such multitudes came,  
That Tellus in evil with Tartarus vied.

\* See Milton's *Paradise Lost*.



Then Luxury came to the plague of poor man,  
And Disease, and Pain,  
Which compos'd a long train,  
Made use of their bridge, and their torment  
began. *Ib.*

—  
THE INFIDEL.  
*By the same.*

THERE is no God, the unbeliever cries;  
By chance alone my spirit here was sent;  
My powers in present joy I'll exercise;  
And scorn the thought of after punishment.  
In ev'ry heedless pleasure, every crime,  
Whate'er he thinks to happiness may tend,  
He spends, he dissipates his precious time,  
For death he deems his everlasting end.  
And is he happy? seeks he not in vain  
For bliss? must not his ev'ry appetite  
Indulg'd, nor aught enjoyment to obtain  
Too vile be deemed, felicity excite?  
Behold, beneath that laughing lip so gay,  
A lurking something far—ah far—from  
joy!  
Oh! could'st thou but that bosom open lay,  
The secret feelings which that heart em-  
ploy—  
Then soon would cease the question of sur-  
prise!  
Why flies the youthful cheek the healthful  
bloom?  
What dims the sparkle of those fading eyes,  
And clouds e'en pleasure with a shade of  
gloom?  
When one by one his dearest friends are gone;  
When still surviving he remains alone;  
How sad his state! his prospect how forlorn!  
No future life!—all are for ever flown.  
Behold him when the hoary frost of years  
Is thinly scattered o'er his brow, when  
death  
In all his gloomy horrors close appears,  
And warns him to prepare to yield his  
breath:  
No children, whom his hand has train'd with  
care  
In virtue and in duty's path, are nigh,  
To stay his tottering steps; his griefs to share;  
To watch him with affection's filial eye.  
And stretch'd at length upon his dying bed,  
While mortal damps bedew his pallid  
brow,  
And racking doubts distract his aching head,  
Behold the wretched unbeliever now.  
No recollection now of pious deeds  
Can cheer his soul, can sooth the parting  
groan;  
He feels the grasp of death: the world re-  
cedes,  
And all is void: an awful dark unknown—  
And oh! is this his boasted happiness?  
Is this a life of enviable bliss?  
Is this a life of happy blessedness?  
A life how sad! a death how dreadful this!  
*Ib.*

ODE TO THE POPPY.  
*By Mrs. Neale.*

Not for the promise of the labour'd field,  
Not for the gold the yellow harvests yield,  
I bend at Ceres' shrine!  
For dull to humid eyes appear  
The golden glories of the year!  
Alas! a melancholy worship's mine!

I woo the Goddess for her scarlet flower,  
Thou brilliant weed,  
That dost so far exceed  
The richest gifts gay Flora can bestow,  
Heedless I pass'd thee in life's morning hour,  
Thou comforter of wo!

In early age, when Fancy cheats,  
A varied wreath I wove  
Of laughing Spring's luxuriant sweets,  
To deck ungrateful Love.  
The rose or thorn my labours crown'd,  
As Venus smil'd, or Venus frown'd;  
But Love and Joy, and all their train are  
flown;  
E'en laughing Hope no more is mine,  
And I can think of thee alone:  
Unless, perchance, the attributes of grief,  
The cypress bud or willow leaf,  
Their pale, funereal foliage blend with thine.

Hail! lovely blossom! thou canst ease  
The wretched victims of disease,  
Canst close those weary eyes in gentle sleep  
Which never open but to weep;  
For oh! thy potent charm  
Can agonizing pain disarm,  
Expel imperious memory from her seat,  
And bid the throbbing heart forget to beat.

Soul-soothing plant, that canst such blessings  
give,  
By *Thee* the mourner bears to live,  
By *Thee* the hopeless die!  
Oh! ever friendly to despair!  
Might Sorrow's pallid votary dare,  
Without a crime, that remedy implore,  
Which bids the spirit from its bondage fly,  
I'd court thy palliative aid no more—  
No more I'd sue that thou should'st  
spread  
Thy spell around my aching head;  
But would conjure thee to impart  
Thy balsam to a bleeding heart,  
And by thy soft Lethæan power,  
Inestimable flower!  
Burst these terrestrial bonds, and unknown  
regions try! *Ib.*

—  
SONG—BY MOORE.

*From the lately published Number of the Irish  
Melodies.*

As slow our ship her foamy track  
Against the wind was cleaving,

Her trembling pennant still look'd back  
To that dear isle 'twas leaving.  
So loth we part from all we love,  
From all the links that bind us;  
So turn our hearts where'er we rove,  
To those we've left behind us.

When round the bowl, of vanished years  
We talk with joyous seeming,  
And smiles that might as well be tears,  
So faint, so sad their beaming;  
While mem'ry brings us back again  
Each early tie that twin'd us;  
Oh sweet's the cup that circles then  
To those we've left behind us.

And when in other climes we meet  
Some isle, or vale enchanting,  
Where all looks flow'ry, wild, and sweet,  
And nought but love is wanting;  
We think how great had been our bliss,  
If Heav'n had but assigned us  
To live and die in scenes like this,  
With some we've left behind us!

As trav'lers oft look back at eve  
When eastward darkly going,  
To gaze upon that light they leave  
Still faint behind them glowing,—  
So, when the close of pleasure's day  
To gloom hath near consigned us,  
We turn to catch one fading ray,  
Of joy that's left behind us.

SONG—*By the same.*

WHENE'ER I see those smiling eyes,  
All fill'd with hope, and joy, and light,  
As if no cloud could ever rise,  
To dim a heav'n so purely bright—  
I sigh to think how soon that brow  
In grief may lose its every ray,  
And that light heart, so joyous now,  
Almost forget it once was gay.

For Time will come with all its blights,  
The ruin'd hope—the friend unkind—  
And Love, who leaves, where'er he lights,  
A chill'd or burning heart behind!  
And youth, that like pure snow appears,  
Ere sullied by the dark'ning rain,  
When once 'tis touch'd by sorrow's tears,  
Will never shine so bright again. *Ib.*

SONG—*By Mr. R. Wilde, of Georgia.*

My life is like the summer rose,  
That opens to the morning sky,  
But ere the shades of evening close,  
Is scatter'd on the ground to die:  
But on that rose's humble bed  
The sweetest dews of night are shed,  
As if she wept such waste to see—  
But none shall weep a tear for me.

My life is like the autumn leaf,  
That trembles in the moon's pale ray,

Its hold is frail, its date is brief—  
Restless, and soon to pass away:  
Yet ere that leaf shall fall and fade,  
The parent tree shall mourn its shade,  
The winds bewail the leafless tree—  
But none shall breathe a sigh for me.

My life is like the print which feet  
Have left on Tempe's desert strand—  
Soon as the rising tide shall beat,  
This track will vanish from the sand:  
Yet, as if grieving to efface  
All vestige of the human race,  
On that lone shore loud moans the sea,  
But none shall e'er lament for me.

A TOM-A-BEDLAM SONG.

FROM the Hag and hungry goblin  
That into rags would rend ye,  
All the spirits that stand  
By the naked man,  
In the book of moons defend ye!  
That of your five sound senses  
You never be forsaken;  
Nor travel from  
Yourselves with Tom  
Abroad, to beg your bacon.

CHORUS.

Nor never sing any food and feeding,  
Money, drink, or clothing;  
Come dame or maid,  
Be not afraid,  
For Tom will injure nothing.

Of thirty bare years have I  
Twice twenty been enraged;  
And of forty been  
Three times fifteen  
In durance soundly caged.  
In the lovely lofts of Bedlam,  
In stubble soft and dainty,  
Brave bracelets strong,  
Sweet whips ding, dong,  
And a wholesome hunger plenty.

I know more than Apollo;  
For, oft when he lies sleeping,  
I behold the stars  
At mortal wars,  
And the rounded welkin weeping;  
The moon embraces her shepherd,  
And the queen of Love her warrior;  
While the first does horn  
The stars of the morn,  
And the next the heavenly farrier.

With a heart of furious fancies,  
Whereof I am commander;  
With a burning spear,  
And a horse of air,  
To the wilderness I wander;  
With a knight of ghosts and shadows,  
I summoned am to Tourney:  
Ten leagues beyond  
The wide world's end;  
Methinks it is no journey!



